

JPRS-NEA-87-102  
17 DECEMBER 1987

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# ***JPRS Report***

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# **Near East & South Asia**

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NATIONAL TECHNICAL  
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SPRINGFIELD, VA 22161

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# Near East & South Asia

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## ISRAEL

**Arabic Weekly Alleges PLO 'Paid Off' Jews, Arabs Who Met With 'Arafat'**  
44230002c Tel Aviv KOTERET RASHIT in Hebrew  
30 Sep 87 p 13

[Article by Mikhail Sela': "Travelers Checks"]

[Text] An Arabic weekly from Nazareth broke the story that Israelis, Jews and Arabs alike, who went to meet with 'Arafat in Geneva received thousands of dollars from the PLO. Those involved deny it. The paper promises to provide more details. One thing is clear: even if they did not receive money from the PLO, they did get assistance from friends abroad.

The Arabic newspaper AL-SINNARAH ("The Fishhook"), which is published in Nazareth, ran a sensational story on its last page—on a red background in the upper half of the first column. The headline was: "Geneva Conference Proved Profitable." The short 91-word article was a bombshell whose echoes quickly reached the Israeli media and foreign press agencies, provoked reactions and counter-reactions, and engendered threats of libel suits.

Following is the full translation of the article:

"AL-SINNARAH has learned that most of the Israeli personages—Jews and Arabs—who went to Geneva for the meeting with Yasir 'Arafat received generous contributions from the Palestinian leader.

"AL-SINNARAH's sources stress that the contributions were divided into three groups: \$5,000, \$8,000 and \$12,000 each. One of the well-known persons in the Galilee won the big prize—a check for \$12,000. The members of the other delegations—which include the Progressives and others—got less than that.

"The contributions, in the form of checks, were turned over to the people where they stayed, quietly and with no indication of the name of the contributor. AL-SINNARAH has also learned that one of the people refused the contribution."

Thus with no indication of names, no mention of authorizations and, of course, no revelation of sources, a new scandal has been born. The term "progressives" could, of course, hint at the Progressive Movement for Peace, but there is no certainty that this was the intent of the writer since that term is widely used by the Arabs to indicate the Left in general. If, despite that, the writer did mean the Progressive list, then there is room for a lot of speculation: who was the well-known person from the Galilee who does not belong to the Progressives? In Nazareth, in East Jerusalem and in the other Arab political centers, the rumors are rampant. The editor of

AL-SINNARAH promised new revelations and identifications this week. Several of those who went on the trip say he would not dare, because the article was nothing but a trial balloon with no substance to it.

This week, three days after the article's publication, one of the participants in the Geneva conference was called in for investigation by the national police staff in East Jerusalem. By the participant's account, the investigators accused her of violating the law against meetings with the PLO but focused on the question of whether she had received a check from the PLO with her own hands. When she replied in the negative, she was asked if she had heard of any person or persons who had received something. She replied in the negative to that, too. Apparently that subject will come up again and will result in further investigations.

All representatives of parties and organizations that were asked this week about the story in AL-SINNARAH denied that they had received money from the PLO. So did Mica Wilner of the New Communist List, who participated in the Geneva conference ("our delegations were financed by our own monies"). So did Haim Hanegbi of the Progressives, who was also at Geneva ("the sources of our financing, including the sending of the delegation to Geneva, are open, legal, and under the scrutiny of the State auditor; four of our people, among them myself, traveled on Maxim Gilan's expense account.") Gilan, a poet, former editor of BUL and a HA'OLAM HAZE man who emigrated to France, publishes an English-language newspaper called ISRAEL AND PALESTINE. He is working, by his own account, to unite the forces of peace in Israel.). Despite the disagreement prevailing among the Israelis who were in Geneva, and despite the invectives that they regularly hurl at one another, they were all in agreement this time.

Dr Rashid Salim, a doctor from Nazareth who had withdrawn from the Progressives and was in Geneva heading the delegation of a new political body called "the Progressive Front," says: "I asked the owner of AL-SINNARAH, Lutfi Mish'or, to publish the names and the proof, and if he does not do it I will sue him for libel." He says that he and his friends financed themselves with their own money.

MK Charlie Biton admitted that he had received assistance "from the Hungarian party and peace committee;" prior to the Geneva conference he had spent some time in Hungary. He maintains that there must be peace contacts with 'Arafat, "but were 'Arafat to invite me to lunch, I would tell him, 'thank you very much but only after there is peace'." According to Biton, he arranged for a \$400 contribution from the Hungarian peace committee for David Ish Shalom. Ish Shalom himself says: "I traveled at my own expense." Journalist Shalom Yerushalmi, a reporter for KOL HA'IR, who covered the Geneva conference for his paper, says that his trip was financed by KOL HA'IR.

MK Mati Peled of the Progressives has his own explanation of how the story arose. Peled, whose trip, like that of MK Tawfiq Ziyad, was financed by the UN, claims that the publication of the story is connected with the clashes between AL-SINNARAH and AL-ITTIHAD, the New Communist Arabic daily. AL-ITTIHAD regularly publishes accusations about AL-SINNARAH, which is suspected of being the mouthpiece of the Progressives, the authorities, secret organizations, former Minister Moshe Arens, and anyone else.

According to Peled, "supporters of Husayn and the Israeli establishment have worked hand in hand on more than one occasion to ease the PLO out of the political process and wipe it off the political map." Peled also reacted to the demand of MK Yosi Sarid, one of the attendees, to return the money immediately. "Sarid," said Peled, "is doing to the peace camp what Roni Milo tried to do to Peace Now."

Lutfi Mashur, 40, the chief Arab publisher in Israel, is the founder and owner of AL-SINNARAH; for some time now he has been editing the weekly together with 'Atallah Mansur, the veteran correspondent for HA'ARETZ in Nazareth. In fact Mish'or had his first journalistic experience in Hebrew—in HA'OLAM HAZE and in LAMERHAV, which did not survive. That was in the sixties. AL-SINNARAH is an enormous success; from a small Nazareth local paper, it has turned into a commercial and political weekly distributed in tens of thousands of copies in Israel and the territories, the newspaper of Israel's Arabs and one of the most widely read in the territories.

[Question] Why didn't you publish the names of the people involved?

[Mish'or] We are still checking the facts, and we are having trouble getting the checks. I do not want them to make mincemeat out of us; it bothers me as a member of this society that someone who once cooperated with the General Security Service is a nationalist today. That cheapens us and makes us look like profiteers. We have more to publish on Friday, along with pictures of documents."

Mish'or says that his newspaper is trying to locate the person from the Galilee who received \$12,000 in order to get his reaction, "even though we know he will not talk." Nor is he afraid of libel suits: "if someone sues us, we will ask to subpoena Abu-Mazin, the Rothschild of the PLO."

Mish'or says that the transfer of money from PLO circles to political entities in Israel is nothing new. It is, by his definition, "national prostitution," and he would like to condemn and uproot it, "for the sake of the cleanliness of the Palestinian people..."

'Atallah Mansur says that he cannot expose his sources just now, but "it is a source that we trust. We also checked with one of the people who went on the trip, and he told us 'why did they give me only \$1,500 when others got \$5,000?'"

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**Local Reporters Establishing 'Secret Ties' to Foreign Press**

44230001 Tel Aviv MONITIN in Hebrew No 108, Sep 87 pp 76-79

[Article by Moshe Lichtman: "Underground Press"]

[Excerpts] Dani Rubinstein, DAVAR correspondent for territorial affairs, was on vacation when NBC crews did the research for the documentary movie "The Dying Dream" about the 20 years of occupation. Rubinstein is employed by NBC. It makes no difference whether he receives \$400 or \$700 per month; according to its evaluation of his talents, the nature of his ties to the foreign network, ties not open and clear to all, gives Avi Pazner, adviser to the prime minister on communication, a seemingly weighty argument: "When Rubinstein writes in DAVAR and signs his name, we know who he is and what his newspaper represents and everything is O.K. But when a newspaperman works for a foreign network covertly, his political views, naturally, are expressed within the framework of the network's reporting from the country. There is tendentiousness on the part of Israeli reporters working for foreign networks. What is legitimate and proper for the newspaperman to do in Israel is not legitimate with respect to foreign countries, especially if it is not open. The ethics committee should deal with this problem. If government radio and television workers are involved, this is altogether scandalous."

The irony is that Rubinstein, who managed to participate for a short time in the NBC research for the report, organized the Angel family—bereaved parents who lost a son during the war of attrition—from Jerusalem for the network. When the section on the Angels at the Yad Lebanim Center ends in the report, Dani, the father, says: "But we have a state." His wife, Vicki, answers painfully: "Yes, but there is no peace." Even Avi Pazner could not have chosen a better idea for Israeli information than Dani Rubinstein did.

Those who live in a mental ghetto will deal with ties between Israeli newspapermen and the foreign press on an emotional level and will call them "collaborators." On the other hand, when the financial matter came up in a conversation with a well-known newspaperman involved in this—and there is nothing improper in work on the side—he said, laughing hesitantly: "I see myself as an exporter who also brings dollars to the state." There are several dilemmas, mainly because of the extent of this phenomenon, between the emotional approach and absolute financial cynicism. "When you ask me about

additional people on the list that you already have," a well-known newspaperman said, "you are looking in the wrong direction. It is easier to look for those that do not deal with this—they are few."

The term "tipper" has an unpleasant sound, but all foreign communication media working in Israel, mainly American television networks, which wildly compete for the viewing percentage translated into exclusive news and speed of reporting, need "tipplers"—people in the field who will transmit news quickly, or, better, will warn about an expected event at a time making it possible to get organized for filming during the occurrence of this event. Even the Japanese News Agency, which no one knows, employs Pinhas 'Anbari from 'AL HAMISH-MAR, who claims that the ties are haphazard and do not clash with his work at the newspaper.

Our monitor Miki Gordus works openly under an orderly contract for NBC and, since this is in the open, it will not be proper to include him in the category of "tipplers." But what about Shim'on Schipper, the big scooper of Qol Yisra'el, who is also employed by NBC simultaneously with his work in the broadcasting network? Is Schipper a "tipper"?

"At one time I received approval from my director," Schipper says. "I have never had a dilemma, because I have never given news—only an evaluation and a commentary."

Schipper includes himself in the category of newspapermen who actually give consultations, comments, and background material to networks or foreign newspapers. The foreign press needs both "tipplers" and Israeli experts in four areas: army and security; the northern border; policy; the territories and the Arab world.

Dani Rubinstein has difficulties in defining his status. As far as he is concerned, "tipping" is a past business and today he works more as a consultant. The element of anonymity bothers him: "I would be happy if NBC gave me credit and I were open to criticism. As a DAVAR worker with a midnight deadline, I have never run into a conflict of interests. I don't feel that I do something improper if I work for my living and I don't care what this is called."

[Question] How would you define your ties to NBC?

I don't know. At my newspaper, at least ten people work for broadcasting networks in Europe. What would you call them? The ethical aspect is that my newspaper has censorship restrictions. At the time I knew about the idea of exchanges of prisoners with Jibril, but DAVAR had censorship restrictions. I had difficulties deciding whether to tell this to NBC. After a day of these difficulties, one-half of the State of Israel already knew about this news; the ban on publication was lifted a week later. I think that Hana Zemer knows about my ties to NBC, but we have not talked about this.

DAVAR editor Hana Zemer claims that the institution called the "editors' committee" leaks. Information flows in the editorial departments of newspapers and, ultimately, reaches "tipplers," a phenomenon which she opposes, even though everyone is aware of it, but everything depends on the specific situation. With respect to Rubinstein, Zemer says: "I don't know the degree of his ties to NBC, but I have 100 percent confidence in Dani, his expertise, his conscience, and his patriotism. If he ever has a dilemma, I am sure that his loyalty will be first of all to DAVAR."

Ze'ev Schiff, the military commentator of HA'ARETZ, represents an opposite position to that of Pazner. According to Schiff, it is a pity that Dani Rubinstein was not involved even more in the preparation of the NBC film, in order to eradicate from the film noxious weeds and inaccuracies, which, ultimately, were interpreted to the detriment of Israeli information.

"In principle, one cannot cause a break between the Israeli press and the international press. They are not only connected, but interdependent vessels, and it is impossible to deal with this subject from the aspect of 'tipplers' alone. From time to time I am approached and I also publish abroad, or consult on a specific subject. This cannot be prevented, just as it is impossible to tell a doctor to practice only Israeli medicine. An ethical problem can arise if a reporter like Dani Rubinstein has information and does not transmit it to his newspaper, but to the organization to which he is connected—but go and prove this. A question, which has not arisen on a large-scale previously, can arise: What happens when a newspaper editor says: 'You work for me, so why are you suddenly writing for THE NEW YORK TIMES'?"

Schiff's approach to the press as a liberal profession, in which expertise is equal to monetary compensation, is not new. Ar'el Ginai from YEDI'OT AHARONOT began in the early 1950's. He was followed by his newspaper colleague Shayqe Ben-Porat and Uri Dan from MA'ARIV, who worked openly, as does Yuval Elitzur, deputy editor of MA'ARIV. Another senior newspaperman from YEDI'OT AHARONOT, Arye Tzimuqi, worked for many years until his death for the CBS network under a totally unknown arrangement. When Tzimuqi died, supply exceeded demand and in the end CBS contacted 'Aqiba Eldar from HA'ARETZ.

As Shimon Peres sees it, he has the right to supply information as he thinks fit and to decide that he will give his version of the Pollard affair to Tom Friedman from THE NEW YORK TIMES. Of course, this is only a hypothetical example of his rights, like the decision that Eldar and Mati Golan from HA'ARETZ will write his up-to-date autobiography. On the other hand, does elementary press decency demand that Shimon Peres, in one of those background talks not for quotation, attribution, or any use—only the talks of the editors' committee being more questionable—know that 'Aqiba Eldar is employed by CBS?

Another possible dilemma: Let us assume that during the Lebanon war, when newspaperman Shim'on Schipper was well liked by Arik Sharon, the minister knew about Schipper's ties to NBC and it was to his interest to release certain information, first of all, in the American arena. What would be easier than to say to Schipper: "This is for the Americans." What types of relations can develop between a newspaperman and a public figure if such a scenario takes place?

'Aqiba Eldar: "The matter should be open and this is what I do, so that no one will think that I have something to hide. I have the approval of HA'ARETZ to work with CBS only in connection with consultation, instruction, and background and briefing talks, or, for example, when it wants to do research on the subject of Soviet penetration into the Middle East. Then I am asked which interviewees are worthwhile to take on. If Peres talks about matters not for quotation, he knows that this is absolute and it does not matter if he knows about my ties to CBS or not. Trust is trust. If I have a scoop, first of all, I come to a newspaper that pays me a salary. CBS does not expect exclusive news from me, before HA'ARETZ receives it. I don't think that the CBS affair makes a difference as far as my sources are concerned, so long as I am loyal to ethics and don't break censorship laws."

Jay Bushinski established and managed the CNN office in Israel for 5 years. "The very fact that the institution of 'tippers' exists in Israel points to the distortions existing in the information spreading system in the state, because if the system operated fairly, without 'scratch my back and I'll scratch yours,'" tippers' would have no advantage. This is corruption, this seemingly is a proof that there are newspapermen of two categories: A and B. Unfortunately, what a minister is prepared to reveal to one newspaperman he is not prepared to reveal to another. As yet there is no realization that, in fact, there is no difference between domestic and foreign press. There are categories of newspapermen who are entitled to know everything, including news not for publication, newspapermen who can report only what the establishment sees as worth publishing from the point of view of Israeli information, or the private interest of the reporter of information.

"The principle, mainly with respect to government figures, is that the source should know with whom he talks. It is inconceivable that George Schultz during a talk with a senior reporter of THE NEW YORK TIMES is not aware of the fact that these data, not to mention formulations and assumptions, will reach BBC or Israeli television through that reporter. If he were aware of that, he would have talked differently.

"After I established CNN, camera crew members, as well as Adi Sofer, who was involved in the establishment of the office, began to pressure me to find paid 'tippers.' I fought against this for about 2 years until I could no more and I was convinced that, owing to the distorted structure of the information flow in Israel, I had no

choice. I hired a man who worked in the state broadcasting system as a 'tipper' for a monthly salary. Owing to his senior post, this man was one of the first to know everything and, indeed, he supplied us—and continues to do so to this day—with early internal information, which enabled us to arrive and position ourselves at places of occurrence of events, including the 300 bus. I, personally, was deeply ashamed. I think that this man betrayed the trust of the Israeli national broadcasting system. I paid him from my own pocket, because I was even ashamed to report to the network in the United States that I, the distinguished and proud newspaperman, stoop to such a level. Therefore, I paid him duly from my pocket, in good dollars. After I left CNN at the end of 1985 his monthly salary was doubled and, apparently, this expense was recorded as part of the current financing cost in the United States. The height of the deceit in this phenomenon is that it does not cross the minds of senior officials that sometimes foreign press agents are their confidants."

"What is your opinion of the explanation 'I don't give news, only evaluations and background [material]'?"

"Nonsense, a dirty lie, this cannot be. A 'tipper' has no value if he is unable to transmit early, restricted information, because television networks must wrestle with a heavy logistic of people, equipment, and traffic to the place of incident. Therefore, an early warning is critical. This is the 'tipper's' only value. The institution of 'tippers' exists mainly in the Middle East and it is difficult to imagine it in a democratic state. But the demand for information is so strong that networks will not spare effort or money to get it. I will be able to know more if I am ready to pay. Once I paid 500 dollars to a very famous political reporter for information on a certain matter. I was ashamed and stunned by his greed. He is one of the famous political reporters in the country, whose exceptional characteristic is that he knows political details as though he participated in government meetings, or was under the cabinet's table."

Recently, the West Bank has been a hot coverage region, as it is evident from the NBC-Rubinstein affair and the documentary film, which, incidentally, was offered to the Israeli television free of charge, so that every viewer could judge whether the Pazner tumult had a basis. Gil Sadan, a television correspondent for territorial affairs, also works for the Jewish News Agency with the approval of his superiors.

About 2 years ago, after complaints by territorial reporters to the effect that they could not cover house demolition operations with their own eyes, the civil administration decided to invite three newspapermen to view the demolition in the village of [Zurif]: Arye Gus from the radio, Gil Sadan from television, and Roni Shaqed from YEDI'OT AHARONOT. They were invited with a brief warning to the meeting point at the Gush 'Ezion police station at 0300 hours. When the newspapermen arrived, a foreign television crew was already waiting

there. This caused the three reporters to look at each other and caused Amnon Shahaq, head of the command, to become agitated. It was obvious that someone had given a tip; in this case the possibility was ruled out that the information had come through the dozens of figures operating in the bank, such as newspaperwoman Raymonda Tawil, who supply extensive current information to all foreign communication media.

Arye Gus, who holds fundamental and declared positions against the 'tipping' institution, refused to talk with MONITIN about this matter and this phenomenon.

Roni Shaqed: "I certainly did not bring the crew and I assume that whoever brought it there also took it to other places and events. This was an embarrassing case of betrayal of trust. I don't oppose the 'tipping' phenomenon, but it should be open and known to the IDF spokesman or at the government press office."

Gil Sadan is abroad, and it was impossible to get his reaction.

The northern border is another hot region where networks need "tippers," and almost all of them keep a camera crew without a reporter "in a state of alert" between Metulla and Nahariyya. Some claim that Yoram Hamizrahi with the 1,000 hats was the biggest of them all at all times. Menahem Hurvitz falls not far from this tree. In addition to his work for several Israeli communication media, he is connected with several foreign communication media and agencies, whose identity he refuses to detail. Hayim Hecht from Qol Yisra'el told about a tempting offer that he received and rejected.

Ties between Moti 'Eden, the television reporter in the north, and the ABC television network, and his close links with the network's camera crew, constitute the subject of a semi-ridiculous grievance between officials in the Ministry of Defense and the IDF and even among his colleagues in the region.

When asked whether he is connected with ABC, Moti 'Eden reacted as follows: "I am not connected with anyone—only with those who pay me a salary. I have no remunerative ties to ABC."

In the past, reliable information by a foreign reporter or a television network led to the cancellation of military activity by the IDF for field security reasons—if foreign television knows, only the devil knows who else may know.

On the surface, military reporters have the most serious problem. They signed a covenant with the IDF prohibiting them from transmitting classified information to communication media; and, despite the fact that the relevant paragraph is not sufficiently sharp and clear, of course, foreign communication media are implied in the covenant. There is anachronism and ignorance of reality in this covenant, because classified information is

also spread among political reporters and restrictions on formulations by military reporters are now enjoying a certain amount of liberalization. Yosi Melman, the political reporter of DAVAR, openly worked for the weapons magazine GUINNESS; and lately Re'uven Padhatzur, the military reporter of HA'ARETZ, has replaced him.

GUINNESS published a report on the sale of Hercules aircraft to France.

Re'uven Padhatzur: "I have never published such a report."

[Question] Do your two hats constitute a problem?

[Answer] Everything that am told is not for publication is not for publication throughout the world. I don't transmit a report that does not pass censorship, even if I can pick up the telephone and no one will know. When I am asked something at GUINNESS, I see if the matter passes censorship. If a reporter works according to rules, the test is only the damage to security. If someone transmits information on a secret briefing, or does not transmit news through censorship, as far as I am concerned, he should be put on trial and imprisoned.

Military commentator Roni Dani'el from Qol Yisra'el is employed by the ABC network. Dani'el refused to refer to his exact status. It is reasonable [to assume], in contrast to the statements by Jay Bushinski, that there are several shades in the gray area and not everyone connected with a foreign network is a classic 'tipper' of information, especially early information, but that there are also those that, indeed, provide comments and background [material], as, apparently, Roni Dani'el does.

Bushinski is right with respect to his basic assumption that information flows, at least on the part of informers, in a manipulative and self-seeking manner. Such a "tipper," who lives in the underground, adds his manipulation—there is one problem when the source knows and another, when it does not know about the two hats—and he is only one and a half steps from press corruption.

Ron Ben-Yishay, the military commentator of YEDI'OT AHARONOT, is openly employed as a reporter of TIME magazine in Israel. When YEDI'OT AHARONOT makes a project about Syria, the doors of the intelligence department open to Ben Yishay for dozens of hours of briefing and background talks, information that TIME would be glad to get. Indeed, Ben Yishay receives credit for material that he transmits, but not for its entirety and not always.

Ben Yishay: "I don't have special paper for TIME and special paper for YEDI'OT, but the separation works exceptionally well. For example, when TIME comes out with a story about Iran, I come to the official in the security network and say in advance: I now wear the hat of TIME. What you are prepared to give to TIME, give

me and what you are not prepared to give to any TIME correspondent, don't give me. When there is a briefing for military reporters I, of course, represent YEDI'OT and, despite the fact that my information reservoir is also enriched for the sake of TIME, YEDI'OT comes first and it is clear that I don't transmit to TIME anything that will not pass censorship."

[Question] If the IDF decides to enforce the paragraph of the covenant restricting the transmission of information to foreign communication media, what will you do?

[Answer] I don't think that there is such a paragraph and, if there is and it wants to be formal, it should take me out of the covenant. Will this prevent me from picking up the telephone? This is silly, because this will prevent me from participating in meetings of military correspondents, but I will not be subject to the restrictions on military correspondents.

On a totally different level, within this context, there are considerations. Ze'ev Schiff hinted at the logical basis of these considerations when he observed that perhaps it would be good if Rubinstein could eradicate several noxious weeds from the NBC report on the bank. Perhaps there is a certain exaggeration of Rubinstein's ability "to have a good influence" on the reporting of a foreign television network, but the spokesmen and information institutions of the security system live within a certain symbiotic relationship with Israeli newspapermen, who are connected to foreign television networks.

For example, Hirsch Goodman, Ehud Ya'ari, and Ze'ev Schiff are well-known experts in their fields, have the total trust of the security system, and are not suspected troublemakers for Israel. It is convenient for the IDF spokesman, if, for instance, NBC,— or, only as an example, Icelandic television, which came to prepare a report on the balance of forces between Israel and Syria— receives background material and advice from Schiff-Ya'ari. In such a case—and things are done openly—the reliability of the information and evaluations transmitted by both of them is higher in the eyes of this network, because even if the network reporters themselves had received the IDF's cooperation, they would have viewed with suspicion the information they received directly only because it was transmitted by an official spokesman. The amount of Schiff-Ya'ari's salary should be of no interest to the IDF spokesman, who has realized his interest as far as information is concerned.

Two months ago Yosi Melman demanded that the ethics committee of the newspapermen's association discuss the subject of "tippers," eliminate its underground aspect, and introduce procedures accepted, for example, by Pentagon reporters, who announce the list of the communication media persons associated with them. According to Melman, a "tipper" sits at every journalists' forum during a background talk, and Shamir and Peres complain that those background talks not for use

are riddled with holes and thus confidence in newspapermen as a whole is damaged. The newspapermen's association has not yet handled the problem and the web of dilemmas that it arouses, whose solution, according to Israel Peleg, director of the press office, lies only in a willing acceptance of norms in this area by the press itself.

Uri Porat, director-general of the broadcasting network: "This is a scandal. This very day I am planning activities intended to put an end to the phenomenon of private jobs by broadcasting authority workers, a phenomenon which the state controller has already pointed out more than once. A newspaperman who receives information owing to the fact that he is a member of the system of communication media, which pays his salary, owes this information only to his system. Information is the property of the system. When a newspaperman makes additional use of information without the approval of the system and secretly sells this information to other, often competitive, communication media, he commits an act bordering on the theft of property that is not his. And, if the heads of his trade union back such a severe violation of ethics, this is aiding in the prostitution of the profession.

"In principle, I don't oppose jobs on the side, especially given the meager wage conditions of newspapermen in Israel, which do not enable them to live with dignity. But a newspaperman, who has such an offer, must ask and receive the approval of the editorial department in order to make sure that the interests of the editorial department and of professional ethics are not hurt and, if such a problem does not arise, there is no reason not to agree and not to let him do this, provided that this is done with clean hands, not under the table, or as a thief in the night."

The underground nature of the "tipping" phenomenon means that there are very few newspapermen for whom there are no rumors about certain ties. For example, when I discussed with television reporter Victor Nahmias the rumor about his ties to the French television network, he said: "Unfortunately not, and you can hint that I am available. I speak Arabic, English, and French, as well as Italian and Spanish; my expertise is the Arab world and the surrounding areas. Unfortunately, I did not succeed in establishing such ties and I would be very happy to become a member of a network, a magazine, or a foreign newspaper simultaneously with my work in television."

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**Minister Without Portfolio Moda'i Interviewed**  
4423003a Tel Aviv BAMAHANE in Hebrew  
21 Oct 87 pp 21-23

[Article by Menahem Golan: "And Then, Back to Peres"]

[Text] [Question] Good morning, Mr. former finance minister. How does it feel to be an "ex"?

[Answer] Just fine. I belong to that rare breed of people—unfortunately I do not know many like that—who tend to look forward, not back. Nevertheless, since you have chosen to begin our discussion from a historical perspective, I want to emphasize that the economic program, its achievements, and the speed of its implementation surpass even the expectations I had in the first days of its planning and execution. That is the gratifying factor in looking back. I can only hope that those who are now doing the job will continue to do it well, and this hope, of course, does not stem from personal considerations.

[Question] This was a noble official kind of answer to a personal question. Nevertheless, if you will allow me to sidestep the formal ways of putting it, don't you feel that you lost your personal cash box after you flew out of the government?

[Answer] First, I am not a pilot, so I did not fly out of anywhere. Secondly, I certainly did not leave the government. I left my position as finance minister because of circumstances, because of the irrelevant considerations of a man who could not rise above his appetites and conquer his desire to rob me of my achievement in the success of the economic program. Since then I have realized, with a certain sense of personal satisfaction, that the political grinder that bites into and swallows achievements and people at incredible speed has spared me so far. The invitations I get to lecture abroad on the achievements of the economic program are one proof of this. The things I hear from Israelis are the second proof, which contradicts even the saying that no man is a prophet in his own town. But if you are asking who will thank me for it in 5 or 10 years from now, there is no doubt that the number of people who will remember it will gradually decrease, and that is another good reason to look to the future instead of either mourning or idealizing the past.

[Question] And yet, when I hear you say something like "a man who could not conquer his desires and appetites," I find it difficult to believe that you have managed to temper your hatred for Shim'on Peres. In this matter, too, you can forgive the humiliation and look hopefully to the future?

[Answer] I have not tempered my hatred for Shim'on Peres for the simple reason that I have no hatred in my heart for him. If you view the relationship between us in terms of personal humiliation, then I have no doubt that Mr. Peres is entitled to feel more insulted than I do. The problem is that Mr. Peres behaved villainously. My dismissal as finance minister involved three acts of injustice: one, firing a successful minister at the height of the implementation of an economic plan vital for the economy, which had borne extraordinarily good results. Two, flagrantly violating the coalition agreement of the national unity government. And three, establishing an unparalleled precedent for reasons of personal prestige. The deed was not done because I had, God forbid,

harmed the national prestige, abused my position, or carried out professional actions against the cabinet's decisions. Mr. Peres' major consideration stemmed from his belief that he could rob me of my achievement and claim it for himself. I think that even he knows that his attempt to do so failed.

[Question] All right. But perhaps you can explain to me how you can use words like "villainy" and "injustice" and still claim that there is "no hatred in your heart" for the man? Isn't it simpler and more credible to say that you loathe the man who fired you and stymied your political career?

[Answer] No. I can see that my colorful vocabulary bothers you somewhat. Believe me, I have carefully examined the words "villainy" and "injustice," and they carry no personal connotation. In the same way, Israel's prophets did not bear any personal animosity against the rulers and kings whose actions they described as 'villainous.' To give you another example: when a court of justice pronounces that an act of villainy has been committed, the judge certainly does not mean to tell the accused that he cannot stand him.

[Question] So what are you, a prophet or a judge?

[Answer] Neither a prophet nor a judge, nor anything of the sort. I have said what I had to say, and as far as I am concerned the case is closed until further notice. Are we going to talk about the present and future, too, or is this a historical interview only?

[Question] We cannot talk about the future because you are not a prophet. About the present, that is a bit problematic because I do not know what you do in the cabinet as a minister without portfolio. Is this a real job, or some sort of paid leave?

[Answer] You have to remember that it is the man who determines the job, not the portfolio. There are in the cabinet people who work hard despite the fact that they do not have a portfolio, and there are portfolios still unaware that they have a minister. For a cabinet minister, even if he does not have a portfolio, there are dozens of subjects that he can and should study and contribute to. In addition to the regular work, I view the current period as a sabbatical in my academic life. At this time I am amassing mental fuel for whatever future missions there are in store for me.

[Question] Please no not be angry, but that sounds to me like an engine running in neutral. For 2 whole years you have been stocking up on mental fuel for the future? For that you need the capacity of a semitrailer.

[Answer] This "2 whole years" business is another proof of the miracles of human memory, not to mention journalistic memory. First of all, it is not 2 years, but 1 and 1/2 years, during which I also served full time as justice minister, and worked for the continuation of the

Lavi project. Secondly, it should be clear to any reasoning person that this waiting time has been forced upon me and that it certainly does not fill me with joy. Thirdly...

[Question] Excuse me, before "thirdly," even if this waiting out has been forced upon you, don't you think that it is wrong that I and another several hundred thousand people should continue paying your salary during this period?

[Answer] So that is how it is? All right. Then I suggest to you and to the others who think that they are paying me too high a salary to chalk up the surplus to the period in which I served as finance minister, when I worked 23 hours a day and pushed myself to the limits of human strength, and was paid a salary which, in my humble opinion, did not come to 1/10 of what I deserved to be paid during that time. After you have calculated the compensations, the interest, and the taxes on delayed salary payment, I am convinced that you will be left with a considerable remainder, which you can donate to ILAN or Lev like a good citizen.

[Question] OK, let us please consider what you have achieved in the recent past. As I recall, your excellent oratory talents gave hope to thousands of workers employed on the Lavi project. I also recall that you promised them that the project would not fail, that the nation would stand up for it, etc., etc. Aren't they a bit disappointed in you today?

[Answer] They would have had a good reason to be disappointed if I had reneged on my promise to struggle for them and for the project, whose cancellation seems to me a case of national stupidity that will remain a perpetual source of sorrow. I can only hope that all those involved in that struggle were blessed with enough good sense and logic to understand that it was not I who decided the order of priorities of the defense ministry, and that my vote, with all due respect, counted only once. As I have already told you, I do not hold with personal account-settling, but if one day someone has to pay the price for that act of national stupidity, it will certainly not be anyone in my office.

[Question] So, in your opinion, to which office will the bill be sent?

[Answer] To our fickle national office, which should pay the price collectively, and I am not talking only about the price due because of the military deficiency, for which substitutes can be found. When I talk of a national price, I am referring in particular to an area that has no less influence on consumption and power than the military sector. Behind the Lavi project stood a ramified force and a technological might that many countries well envy. The sophisticated technology and the breakthrough to future areas that stood behind the production of the Lavi went beyond the narrow confines of the manufacture of a better fighter plane. Even the breakthrough to the area

of space technology, in which we are theoretically partners with the United States, may suffer because of this rash decision; and I have not even touched on values such as appropriate employment policy, Zionism, involvement of world Jewry, and national pride in its positive and creative sense.

[Question] But, after all, what stopped the Lavi's engines was not opposition to all those attractive aspects, but simple economic and budgetary difficulties. Were you finance minister today, would you support the continuation of the project with the same uncompromising determination?

[Answer] Perhaps not. It is possible that viewed from that position there were hidden considerations that I cannot clearly perceive from my present position—although I doubt that. But even if I did not discover any new data apt to change the perception of the overall picture, there is no doubt that the position of finance minister in itself can change one's perspective and, as we said, I am not a prophet. In any case, I do not believe, much to my regret, that the Lavi fell and was grounded because of new and hidden factors which struck the defense apparatus like lightning out of the blue. What happened was a relevant, albeit unjustified, change in the priorities of the defense minister because of current budget considerations. In addition, there was an irrelevant change in the position of the deputy prime minister, who in the recent past had been among the strongest supporters of the project, but who shifted his stand from one extreme to the other because of internal party considerations. That is precisely the difference between a politician and a statesman.

[Question] And so, we are back to Peres.

[Answer] The radical change in Peres's stand is another facet of the matter, but certainly not the main one. Be that as it may, it is not logical to think that the decision to scrap the project was based on new economic factors. Nothing that the government knew 6 months ago has changed. And if we want to go further, the main difference between the data available to the government 2 and 1/2 years ago and the data available to it a few weeks ago is the enormous increase in the project budget already used and in the funds that went down the drain because of the decision. We are talking here of more than \$1.5 billion, plus some \$150 million more, conservatively estimated, which will be required to close down the project. In February 1985, when the cabinet decided with an overwhelming majority to continue the project, it had the option to wind it up at an infinitely lower human and economic cost. At that time, 300 people would have lost their jobs, whereas today the figure stands at more than 5,000. This factor alone should have sufficed to leave the previous decision in place.

[Question] On another subject, Mr. Minister, I heard that you are on the point of retiring.

[Answer] That is good news, but I would like to hear more details. Tell me about it.

[Question] You would like to be appointed chairman of the Jewish Agency. Therefore I have to conclude that this means your retirement.

[Answer] First of all, a small correction: at this stage I have been offered the position, but I did not initiate an interview and did not express my willingness to accept it.

I suggest that at the least you handle with care the dignity of the people who filled that position in the first years of the state, because they were all among the greatest figures of Zionism.

But let us return to the main point, to which I want to say that this position, too, does not represent my main political aspiration. I do not doubt that it involves functions of a primary national value. In view of the fact that, contrary to the thoughts of some of my well-wishers, I do not intend to retire, with or without that position, it is possible that the future may still hold a few surprises in store for us.

[Question] I accept and sympathize with your moralization about the glorious past of that position, but with all due respect and affection for the past, today this position looks more like a pile of flight tickets.

[Answer] Perhaps, but if we are talking about tickets, then there are several government offices I know of whose airline tickets make those of the Jewish Agency look utterly insignificant in number.

[Question] Hand on your heart, would you not love to get that job?

[Answer] I would prefer an executive position in the political area. That has always been my aspiration and I have no intention to let go of it, whether I am chairman of the Jewish Agency or of myself.

[Question] I interviewed you in the past, Mr. Minister, and I must stress that today you are calmer than ever. It is because of the missing portfolio?

[Answer] I am always calm. My calmness is famous among all those who really know me.

[Question] And all your known outbursts were an illusion?

[Answer] Since we are in a good mood, let me tell you a secret. My outbursts are always planned and controlled. Without an exception they were all intended to achieve certain professional—political or governmental—aims in concrete areas. In my entire career I never raised my

voice or said a sharp word without premeditation. This is simply a weapon to be wielded for specific purposes; and if you can recall a lot of outbursts, that means that I had a lot of goals.

[Question] Then there is a method in your political madness.

[Answer] There is a method. Period.

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#### Experiences of Arab IDF Enlistees Described

44230003b Tel Aviv BAMAHANE in Hebrew  
21 Oct 87 pp 16-18, 58

[Article by Jackie Hugi: "Arab Soldiers in the IDF"]

[Text] At the end of an exhausting, dusty week that drained Bashara Shahin and his friends in Golani of strength and sweat, they were awarded the brown beret. Bashara, a Christian Arab enlisted man, went home to Nazareth. After being received lovingly by his parents and family, he deposited his weapon at home and went excitedly to the town square wearing his uniform and beret.

Dozens of the Nazareth young people were assembled in the square. Many of them are under the influence of the activities of the Islamic Jihad, a hostile organization which is gaining ground among considerable numbers of Israeli Arabs. None of them as much as bestowed even a look on Bashara. Later he said that that was planned.

He sat next to his brother, older than him by 2 years, and was preparing to have a drink with him in honor of the beret. All of a sudden, he heard shouts behind him: "Bashara! Bashara! They are killing me!" He immediately turned around, and a horrifying scene unfolded before his eyes: Some 20 strong men had fallen upon his 15 year old brother and a friend of his and were hitting them mercilessly. They were shouting "Get 'em!" while continuing to beat, kick, and punch them. Bashara did not hesitate and ran to rescue the two from the melee, but he soon became a victim himself. "Traitors! Get out of here!" shouted the captors, and continued to draw blood.

In Golani we were told that we had chosen to interview a "good boy." Now, they added, Bashara was sharing his time between home and the hospital, having suffered a wound in his hand. During training, a unit comrade had turned his gun the wrong way and fired a short burst. Bashara was standing there holding his helmet. The bullets hit his hand, as a result of which one finger was lost and two were paralyzed. A few centimeters higher and the bullets would have hit Bashara in the temple.

Most of the meeting with the Shahin family centered around the mother, Mary—"In the interview I want you to call me Miriam"—a housewife who, together with her

industrial worker husband Jerry, runs an enthusiastically Zionist, Israel-supporting home. She remembers how in 1948 her mother went around Arab homes in Nazareth and tried to persuade them to surrender and to build a model state together with the Jews. The mother, Bashara's grandmother, was a matron at the Shneller Camp in Nazareth and tended IDF men wounded in the War of Independence. Her daughter carried on the tradition during the Peace for Galilee campaign; she visited Christian homes in her town and collected clothing and money for IDF soldiers.

Bashara—which in Arabic means “tidings”—is the same way. Even after being rejected once by the army, he did not give up. He tried again. He did not take offense at the doubting looks of the conscription center officer. “From an early age I was always excited to see a soldier walk down the street. Not out of childish enthusiasm. That is how I was raised at home.”

When he is on a field mission, or when his brigade is engaged in holding a line, the last thing that would bother Bashara's conscience is the possibility that in an encounter with terrorists the latter may be killed. Even killed by himself. “I am an Israeli Christian first and foremost. I enlisted out of a desire for personal fulfillment and out of the belief that Christians and Jews share the same fate. My hopes have been fulfilled even beyond my expectations.”

This belief has been put to the test of reality. The Shahin family, made up of eight family members, was very lucky. Parents who give their children Hebrew names and proudly fly the Israeli flag on Independence Day are not popular in Nazareth. When Bashara went down the street with his uniform and weapon he attracted looks of hatred, curses, and expressions of contempt. When he was wounded, anonymous callers phoned his home and poured out “good wishes” and “blessings.” Once there was even an attempt to set fire to their front door. Telephone calls and threats in the dead of the night became routine. In addition to the violent attack in the town square, another son, Rizin (who is now 18 years old), was intentionally run over by a car under his mother's very eyes, and was seriously injured. In the first moments, Miriam says, when she saw her son's body covered in blood, she did not know whether he was still alive or dead. “But, you see,” she adds prophetically, “my son lived. God loves us.”

Her son Bashara, a soldier with high morale and capable of good performance, is never going to be an IDF officer, as he wished. Because of his wound he had to spend a lengthy period of time in hospital and in a convalescence establishment. The hand is very painful, but he does not regret having joined the army. All that the attempts on the Shahin family succeeded in doing was to make them move to Nahariyya.

Amidst the Jewish population of Nahariyya, the Shahins, with their fluent Hebrew, found their place. Nahariyya welcomed them warmly: the mayor's office took care of them; son Shaul, 13, was chosen to carry the Israeli flag at his school's Independence Day ceremony, and the classmates of daughter Niza, 12, responded to the family's invitation and came to spend Christmas with them. Bashara refers to this as a transition “from darkness to light.”

There is no hostility toward him in his brigade. His friends pay no attention to his origin. Not with the kind of Hebrew he speaks. “They thought I was from Morocco, or some place like that,” he says smiling.

His commanding officers take advantage of his knowledge of Arabic in contacts with Arabs in the territories and in Lebanon. He is proud of belonging to his unit. “With my own ears I heard two people in Gaza, who did not know that I spoke Arabic, say: 'Look at those with the brown berets, they are not like the red ones, they are braver, they go into shops without fear.'”

Bashara says that in Nazareth there are many circles of sympathizers with the IDF and with the state. When his mother was collecting money during the Lebanon war, one of the local notables gave him a check for 3 million old shekels, on the condition that he would not tell anyone who the donor was.

A few of Bashara's friends are serving in the army. According to him, others wanted to follow his example but are not doing so because of the pressure and threats. “When I joined, friends came over and we had a small party. Some of them wanted to get hold of a car and drive me to the conscription office so that I could show them where to go to sign up. Some received threats, were even beaten up. Speaking for myself, this was the best thing I could have done. I wish they would all do the same. There is no other place where the situation of the Arabs is as good as here.”

Minorities have been serving in the IDF since the establishment of the state. Druze, Circassians, Bedouins, and a few Arabs all fought together. Today the Druze and Circassians do their compulsory military service in the IDF, while Arabs and Bedouins can join as volunteers, by choice. However, once they sign up they cannot go back on their decision.

Recently there has been a trend toward military service among the Arabs. Most of them come from Galilee villages and northern towns. They are usually sons of middle-class Arab families. Many follow the tradition of their fathers or other family members. But they are also motivated by the desire to acquire the discharge papers that give them rights equal to any other man who has done his military service: mortgages, discharge grants,

and the right to obtain an arms permit. That way they can also secure jobs in government offices, in the police, and border guards, and also to reenlist in the regular army.

A minorities branch was established in 1982, subordinated to the Chief Records Branch. The branch is under the command of Lt Col Laviv, a Druze from Daliyat el Karmil. The people in the minorities branch are aware of the fact that the IDF's reliance on those volunteers alone is not heavy, but that, of course, is not the purpose. Lt Col Laviv says: "The main purpose is to help these young men integrate more easily into military life, keeping in mind the fact that from a national perspective, such integration will later help them better integrate in civilian life."

On the other hand, not every young Arab is accepted in the army. The IDF has placed limitations on their opportunity to join. Those who do join up have the same options as the other minorities, the Bedouins and the Circassians. The limitations are perhaps not many, but, for example, they cannot go into the air force, the navy, intelligence, reconnaissance, and other specialized units. Only unmarried men under the age of 22 may join. Girls are banned from service in order to avoid religious conflict. Haya Samir, the girl soldier who grew up Jewish and is now serving in the Southern Command entertainment group, is the exception.

Another essential obligation that affects only the volunteers is that they can serve only in frontline units. Major Dina, head of the branch Service Conditions Department, explains this requirement based on the fact that the IDF has more than enough staff men. In the orientation session given the volunteers before enlistment, they are told about life in the IDF, about rights, duties, and... dangers.

Maj Dina says: "We have to make our calculations as to whether it is worthwhile, we cannot allow ourselves to be carried away by the mere fact that a man is willing to volunteer. Practically speaking, they have an easier time fitting into a fighting unit because there life is communal and the environment is rather stable."

Another limitation is that a volunteer must have at least 10 years of schooling. This is designed to ensure that soldiers who cannot speak the language properly do not land among Sabras with varying degrees of linguistic abilities. It is not reasonable to assume that there is any Arab soldier in the IDF who learned Hebrew almost from scratch during his military service. This type of problem can affect not only their social integration, but also daily communication. And when one speaks of communication in the IDF, the reference is to orders.

The story of Gris Marun proves that language is indeed a decisive factor of social integration. Gris's Hebrew was to a large degree responsible for the fact that his company comrades did not warmly embrace him. He was

sent by his commanding officers to a Hebrew course normally designed for new immigrants. Three months later he came back speaking Hebrew much better, even fluently. But accents do not change, and Gris continued to find himself in confusing situations.

His comrades in the infantry unit in which he served did not correctly appreciate the great efforts he made and even the fact of his volunteering for service. The irony in this story is that among his friends, he was not considered an Arab. For some reason, he was viewed as a "Christian." More than once he was humiliated, and was reminded who he was and where he came from. That sort of thing occurred at the unit's permanent site, on the frontline, and even during sorties, when someone was looking around for a punching bag to vent his frustrations and found a "dirty Arab" who was making, or not making, some insignificant mistake. Even on Yom Kippur, when the entire unit was on base, some took the trouble to remind him who he was and how he did not belong there, in view of the Jewish holiday.

Gris is not the type of man to lose his temper. He is an introvert. Not the type to sit with the guys and swap stories about the previous night's entertainment with his girlfriend (yes, he has one). When he needs support, he finds it in his commanding officers or at home, with his brother.

Shahar, a comrade who was with him from the beginning of the service and who at some point became his close friend, tells about Gris's submissive character. "We could see very well that he had difficulties because of his accent and his mentality. Recently people began to behave more maturely toward him, but in boot camp he suffered a lot. While other people got away with their mistakes, he was shouted at a lot, and he swallowed it all silently."

His commanding officers see him as a good soldier who tries as hard as anybody else. He had a problem about giving orders during exercises at the squad commanders course, from which he has just graduated, but he overcame that, too. "Do I trust him?" asked his squad commander, and replied: "Yes, no problem, as far as that is concerned he is like anyone else."

In contrast to Bashara Shahin, we did not find that Gris had a love for Israel bordering on fanaticism, but something of that was present in him, too. "My mother says that military service gives one honor. One leaves home, one sees and learns new things. I feel that everyone should serve in the army, because it defends us too, not just the Jews. My younger brothers will enlist too, as far as I know. They love the word 'army'."

Gris's family lives in Gush Halav, while he and his brother live in a rented apartment in Haifa. He says that the situation at home, in Gush Halav, "is not so good," but he does not explain. It probably has to do with his father's work.

His mother supported his enlistment, and his father gave his tacit approval. Now the parents are somewhat angry; they want their son at home. Gris hinted that some of the young men of Abu Ghaush, where he lived until a year ago, tried to make him talk and give away information, and in that context, tried to persuade him to get his release from the army. Some of the attempts were rather violent. Verbal abuse, that is, not physical.

Gris says: "Sometimes I really ask myself why I joined the army, but then, so does everybody in similar situations. It is all nonsense. I go on as if no one had said anything to me." Instead of getting angry, he prefers to think about a comfortable future made possible by PAZAM. "I do not have a high school diploma because I dropped out before the last grade, but after the service I will make up for it. I am sure that it will be easier for me later, too, concerning work."

The Arab volunteers take the oath of allegiance to the State of Israel and receive from the army the New Testament if they are Christian or the Qur'an if they are Muslim, instead of the Old Testament.

Maj Dina, the guidance officer, who serves as a "wailing wall" for the Arab volunteers who come to her to unburden when they feel depressed, asked us to make sure to emphasize that the volunteers walk a narrow line, twisted by prejudice. What troubles them most is the lack of trust they encounter. According to Maj Dina the root of the problem is not meanness, but ignorance and lack of information, for which the propaganda system is responsible. This affects the willingness and readiness of many of them to make their contribution, despite all the conditions and limitations."

The arid land—in the national sense—from which they come sometimes creates confusions, like what happened to a soldier who turned on his radio to let out the trills of Umm Kalthum, the late greatly admired Egyptian singer.

In its turn, the military apparatus also needs to be trusted by the volunteers. In this case it is not a matter of trust in the sense of preparedness, but in the sense of safeguards to prevent the outflow of information from the army to the outside world. Dina Lahav is not worried about that, but she is aware of the fact that merely trying to meet them halfway represents a concession that takes the control of dangers out of her hands. "This is a very highly classified population, consisting only of Israeli Arabs. In addition, we have to trust them 100 percent, and unless we do trust them, there is no point in any of it."

Rimon Mata's romance with the green uniform was riddled with clashes caused by a lack of preparation. Except that in this case it was not a matter of integration difficulties.

His Arabic accent is hardly discernible. He has green eyes and his hair is parted in the middle. Sometimes he wears sun glasses. No one would guess his origin unless he told them. However, in Mata's case, the trust was broken because of "initiatives" coming from his side.

Like others, Mata did not have it easy during his military service. Once there was a wedding in his village in the Galilee. In the heat of the celebrations, Rimon picked up his gun and fired a burst into the air. One of the people present reported him in exchange for a certain amount of money that he received from an unidentified source. Mata was summoned to the Military Police for investigation.

"OK, so maybe they hate the uniform. Maybe they hate me personally. After all, those are people whose land was taken away from them. But I was disappointed that they should have chosen to victimize me at a friend's wedding, when I so wanted to share in the joy."

His uncle had for many years been a transportation officer in the IDF and had inspired the nephew with the desire and willingness to join the army. Mata's brother, his friend, and one of his cousins are also in the IDF. Rimon decided to contribute to the defense effort, too, and he volunteered. He requested to be assigned as an auto mechanic, a skill in which he had had 12 years of schooling. The classification officer sent him to the artillery. Rimon did not like the work. His PAZAM clock shows 2 and 1/4 years in the IDF. As far as his commanding officers are concerned, Mata is a rather considerable troublemaker.

They talk about his evasions and anti-social tendencies; about falsehoods he told in order to obtain benefits. There are such soldiers among the Jews, too, more than a few. "He is a Catholic," one of the officers says, "and I remember him asking to go on leave on Muslim holidays, too. At the time we did not know much about it, so we let him go."

Several times Rimon went to his commanding officer and complained that he had been called a "dirty Arab." The officer treated the complaint with utmost seriousness. They knew that Rimon was not overly popular among the battery soldiers, until one day things came to a violent clash. However, a brief investigation uncovered facts such as: "That was not the only instance. There had been other incidents. He also tried to obtain his release from the IDF. He was forever telling us about family members dying. At some point I got fed up with his stubbornness and lack of cooperation. I stopped investing in him as a soldier, because I saw that he was not making a contribution of his own," said one of the commanding officers, who today serves in a senior position in the batallion.

While Rimon was serving in the artillery unit, his father suffered a lengthy illness. He requested to be assigned close to home, but was turned down. He thinks that his

treatment at the hands of his battery comrades and the command staff was due to the fact that he is an Arab. However, according to his present commanding officer, Lieutenant Florence Mu'alam, nationality comes at the bottom of the scale.

"He is an average soldier, like any other in the battery. I do not doubt that in time of war he would function as necessary. Of course he has difficulties because he belongs to a minority. But should he be given advantages for that? He chose to serve in the IDF, and his service conditions should be like any other soldier's."

Before he volunteered, Yusif 'Atallah (not his real name) did some stock-taking and concluded that, like any other IDF soldier, he, too, could be wounded and even die. Yusif knew very well that as a Muslim not only his nationality was identified with the enemy, but his religion also. However, he saw himself as a citizen with equal obligations whose duty is to defend the state. He volunteered.

A few weeks after boot camp he was put to the test. In the course of a routine operation in Lebanon, to which he refers as "balls-breaking," his company was dispatched to locate an explosive charge that had been placed in its area of reconnaissance.

Yusif said: "We were still new. We did not know who was fighting against whom. We came to the place and started combing the area. Suddenly we were being fired upon. That was the first such experience for us, and it was frightening. For a moment we went into shock, but our commanding officer was experienced in such incidents. We spotted two terrorists, went after them, and killed them. Everything went without a snag. I felt very good, because I knew this had been the real thing. I felt no conflict, because I had thought about it before I volunteered. I knew that such a moment would come. Besides, many people from the minorities are conscripted without a second thought."

Yusif's father Majid stands by him. He is a public figure, in his 50's, and the father of 12 children, to whom he gave Biblical names after his friends, most of whom are in the defense apparatus. "I did not send him off to kill Muslims, but to defend the country. When he comes home I look upon him as an IDF guest. All in all, the state gives us rights that no Arab enjoys in any other country."

The village, which is large and developed, has a mixed population. There are many professionals, no industrial zones, and its people are forced to go to the big city for jobs. One could not really say that Majid, who sent his son to the IDF, is very much liked by the other villagers. "When my son steps out of the house with his uniform and weapon I follow him with my eyes until I can no longer see him. All he needs is a tune..."

In his company, Yusif is a soldier like any other, no more and no less popular. His friendships do not spill over into his life outside the army. Everyone knew that he belonged to a minority, but they did not ask about his religion or exactly where he was from. Even if they had known, his speech, appearance, and mentality would have sufficed to bridge the gap. The fact that he appears here under an assumed name was his idea, contrary to his father's opinion. "I do not want certain people to know about me."

Some 10 months ago Yusif and one of his company comrades were on guard at a post in Lebanon. That was not a very interesting experience. The boredom almost killed him, literally. Yusif cannot remember what exactly happened at the vital moment. He remembers only his comrade's gun pointed toward him, a short wavering movement, and a shot. The bullet, fired by mistake, went into his stomach. Yusif felt something like an "electric shock." His breathing was heavy and the pain was excruciating.

"I remained fully conscious the whole time, but I thought I was not long for this life. I heard shouts. I was in shock. I was bleeding a lot. It annoyed me that it took a whole hour to evacuate me because the helicopter was not given permission to enter the area. Everyone came over: the deputy company commander, the officers, the medic, and the post doctor. I was dizzy and I closed my eyes, because I did not want to see the wound and get scared. I thought of my family, especially my mother, who is a very sensitive woman."

For several weeks Yusif was in a very serious condition. As soon as he could talk, Military Police investigators took the first opportunity to question him, because they thought he might not live long.

[Question] During those days, while you were laying in bed, didn't you wonder, "why did I actually enlist?"

[Answer] No. I knew beforehand that I had at least a 50 percent chance of getting into such a situation.

[Question] Were you angry with the soldier who shot you?

[Answer] In the beginning, not very much, but after he came and tried to persuade me to tell lies to the investigators, I sent a letter to the officer in charge of the wounded and told her that I did not want to see him again. I do not know what happened with him and where he is now. I am not interested in finding out, either.

The father: "When I came, immediately after I was told about him, Yusif was inside. The operation took 7 hours. Then the doctor came out, all covered in blood. It took him a while to recover from the strain, then he started talking. He said the bullet had moved in his abdomen and it was only by a miracle that it did not hit any vital organ. I ran to the room and shouted his name; for a

moment he did not react, then he lifted his hand and made a fist. I knew: of course, he belonged to Golani. Everything was going to be all right."

His hospital room was filled with comrades from his company. They visited, gave him encouragement, and hugged him. The father came away from the incident disappointed. We asked him if anyone had come to visit from the village. "No," he answered laconically. We did not hear from him any expression of regret, just disappointment. "I had worked to build a tower," he said in his metaphorical way of speaking, "and suddenly this hand came and punched it down."

Yusif has returned to his brigade and continues to serve with a physical classification of 24, as a volunteer. His father said that each Saturday, when his son comes home, he sits by the phone and calls up friends. Yusif has two brothers in the defense apparatus. At the minorities branch we were told that a few Arab families had contacted them about having their daughters serve in the army. Majid was one of them.

When he sees soldiers in the street, he calls them "flowers." One can see why. At a time when parents give their children names like Abu-Nidal, 'Arafat, Sabra, or Shatila, that is quite something.

[box on page 16]  
Knesset Member Rapha'el Eytan: "Only Four Or Five a Year"

Knesset Member and former Chief of Staff Rapha'el Eytan (Raful) is opposed to general conscription of Arabs to the IDF. "God forbid," he cries out, "they are the enemy. I would enlist only a few." Raful can trust a few without second thoughts.

The Minorities Branch did not function in its present form during Raful's time as chief of staff (1978-83). "I approved only 4-5 cases of enlistment of Arabs a year, sometimes more," Raful says. "It depends on the family and its ties to us. I did not know the soldiers personally, but I knew those who had recommended them. I rejected many, namely those who did not meet the requirements."

Knesset Member Eytan verifies that those soldiers went out on pursuit missions too, like any other Israeli soldier, and even that they fought well. About Knesset Member Darawsha's claims concerning funds allocation discrimination (see box on opposite page), he says they are "drivel." "On the contrary," he adds, "they get additional benefits." [box on page 17]

Knesset Member 'Abd-al-Wahhab Darwashi: "I Would Not Send My Son to the Army"

Knesset Member 'Abd-al-Wahhab Darwashi would not send his son to serve in the IDF. "I am not prepared to introduce my son into the tangled situation that marks

the present day reality," he says. When expanding on his view of the reality, he uses expressions such as inequality of rights, discrimination, and dilemma.

Darwashi does not come out against the phenomenon of his co-nationals volunteering for the IDF: "I allow people their freedom. There is no room here for the term 'traitor.' Few Arabs enlist in the IDF, because of their national identity. At the same time, this minority is also the consequence of the political dilemma of people in positions of responsibility."

Darwashi claims that if enlistment were voluntary among the Jewish population, there would not be a full response either. "Consequently, it is a mistake to think that the Arabs refuse to serve in the IDF. This is an outcome of unequal rights."

It is difficult to say that Darwashi is aware of the daily problems of Arab soldiers in the IDF. "Whether they are discriminated against? No, there is no such thing. However, I think that if 1,000 young Arabs were to come and try to enlist, the army would not accept them. That would be too much."

Darwashi, a member of the Labor Party, exhibits optimism about a solution to the Palestinian problem in the near future. When that happens, he thinks that there will even be room in the army for Arab girls. The solution, which would bring about general conscription, will in his opinion be convenient for the Israeli Arabs, too, from a national and defense viewpoint.

The soldiers themselves assert that their present condition is the best, compared to the other Arab countries.

Darwashi says: "I compare our situation to that of the Jews in this country, because we are an integral part of Israel, not Syria or Jordan. Arab citizens comply with all the duties required of them; consequently they are entitled to demand rights."

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## JORDAN

**Third Installment of Saudi Aid Received**  
44000013a Amman *JORDAN TIMES* in English  
5-6 Nov 87 p 1

[Article by J.T.]

[Text] Amman—Saudi Arabia has paid the third installment of its financial commitment to Jordan for 1987, in accordance with the resolutions passed by the 1987 Arab summit in Baghdad, Minister of Finance Hanna Odeh announced Wednesday.

He said that the Finance Ministry has received \$119,047,630 from the Saudi Arabian government as a result of the commitment. This payment reflects Saudi Arabia's commitment to help Arab countries confronting Israel, the minister said.

Saudi Arabia is the only oil-rich Arab country that has been honouring its commitments to Jordan and other Arab countries since the Baghdad summit.

Under resolutions adopted at the Baghdad summit, oil-producing Arab countries committed themselves to provide a total of \$30 billion in 10 years to Jordan, Syria, and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) to help the struggle against Israel. Other than Saudi Arabia, those who undertook the pledge included Kuwait, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Algeria, Libya, and Iraq.

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#### **Unemployment Prompts Deportation of Foreign Illegal Workers**

44000013b Amman JORDAN TIMES in English  
2 Nov 87 p 3

[Article by Alistair Lyon, correspondent for REUTER]

[Text] Amman—Two months ago, Lutfi Al Minyawi's three workmates at an Amman petrol station were Egyptians like himself. Now Jordanians are washing cars and manning the pumps.

"The police came to my nephew's house and gave him 3 days to leave because he had no work permit," said Minyawi, 24, from Mansoura, in lower Egypt. "My permit is good for another year, but I read in the newspaper they will not renew it."

To counter unemployment, Jordan is cracking down on illegal foreign workers, most of them from Egypt, and is trying to encourage Jordanian job-seekers to lower their sights.

Unemployment in Jordan has worsened as growing numbers of well-educated youngsters find opportunities curbed by sluggish economic growth at home and a downturn in Gulf economies.

Economists say that while Jordan has so far avoided a mass return of its 325,000 citizens working abroad, the Gulf is no longer creating new jobs for Jordanians to fill.

"We had a built-in migration system," said Mohammad Abdul Hadi, head of the Labour Ministry's research department.

"We educated our kids to be engineers and doctors to satisfy Gulf demand and get high salaries. Now the door is partly closed and pressure is on the Jordanian labour market.

He said a Jordanian wage-earner supports five people on average, the world's highest dependency ratio. The average is one to three in developing nations and one to two in the West.

Accurate employment figures are elusive, partly because it is unclear how female joblessness is gauged and because underemployment cannot be accurately assessed, diplomats say.

Officials say a third of Jordan's 2.8 million people are in the education system and more than half are aged below 15.

Some officials say about 55,000 are jobless, or 10 percent of the workforce, and say 3.9 percent population growth brings 30,000 to 35,000 new entrants into the labour market each year. This year only 25,000 will find jobs, one official predicted.

"These are not landless, illiterate peasants," a Western diplomat said. "They are skilled people and could get organised. It's a recipe for social unrest, though none exists now."

He said unemployment could rise to 14 percent in the next 2 years, or higher if more was not done to create jobs by stimulating the private sector. The government and armed forces already employ about half the workforce, he added.

The Labour minister, Mr Haj Hassan, said at least 80,000 foreigners, including 70,000 Egyptians and 10,000 Syrians, were working illegally in Jordan and faced deportation.

He told reporters 4,000 foreign workers were expelled between July 22, when the crackdown began, and mid-October.

Egyptian workers flooded their embassy with complaints, Ambassador Ihab Wahba told REUTERS. "We had many calls, some said they had no time to collect wages owed to them, others said they had seen their friends pushed into the trucks and taken away."

Mr Wahba said he was happy with assurances from Public Security Department Chief Abdul Hadi Al Majali, the labour minister and other officials that deportees would not be harassed or ill-treated. "They promised to investigate complaints."

Mr Haj Hassan said cases of mistreatment were rare and attributed them to "individual mistakes." He said Jordan appreciated the contribution of foreign workers to its economy and would go on employing them where no Jordanian substitutes could be found.

Lt Gen Majali told REUTERS unemployment had led to more crime. "We noticed an increase in crime in recent months caused by the presence of too many people without work, especially immigrants. We consider those here with no work permits, no work and no money to be a serious security risk."

He said reports of abuse by security men were exaggerated.

We hired air-conditioned buses, not trucks. We discovered three or four cases of rough treatment at security centres and punished the soldiers in front of those who had complained."

According to the Central Bank, foreigners sent home earnings worth more than \$250 million last year, compared to \$1.2 billion repatriated by Jordanians working abroad.

Official figures show that Egyptians working in service industries or on farms and building sites received about three quarters of the 98,000 work permits issued last year. The total is more than triple the 30,000 permits granted in 1978.

More than one fifth of the 48,000 permits issued from January to August this year went to Asians, mainly Filipino or Sri Lankan maids who work in middle-class homes.

Egyptians and Syrians need no entry or residence permits, which makes the flow of job-hungry migrants hard to monitor.

Egyptians cross the Red Sea by ferry from Nuweibeh to Jordan's southern port of Aqaba and if they find no work may go on to Iraq or the Gulf. Syrians are lured by the strength of Jordan's dinar compared to the declining Syrian pound.

"Syrians doing manual work here can earn five times what a government clerk gets in Damascus," a Jordanian economist said.

Jordanians are generally reluctant to accept the long hours and low pay attached to the jobs snapped up by foreign workers.

Among jobs advertised by the Labour Ministry this month was one for a cleaner in a supermarket to work from 6 in the morning to 10 at night for JD 40 a month.

Jordanian bank secretaries or junior civil servants earn JD 120 to 150 (\$360-450) a month for a 6-hour day.

The JORDAN TIMES said the advertisement pointed up the need for urgent reform of what it called "slavery-like conditions abhorrent to every civilised norm."

Labour Ministry officials said the government was now considering setting a minimum wage and limiting working hours.

"Job-seekers don't match the opportunities," said Mansour Al Utoum, head of the ministry's employment department. "We are trying to train and re-train people to match need and supply."

"Little by little there is a change in attitudes by some Jordanians (towards low-status jobs). We are trying to convince them that these are better opportunities than clerical work."

At present, unemployment hits professionals hardest, partly because Jordan produces so many of them, with about 2,000 new engineers and 2,000 doctors qualifying every year.

Ibrahim Abu Ayyash, head of the engineers syndicate, said a third of 18,000 registered Jordanian engineers were abroad and 1,137 were listed jobless, but more were probably unemployed.

"The number of engineers has outstripped the needs of our economy," he told REUTERS. "We are informing the public of this to try to reduce the number of engineering students."

The government has set up a ministerial committee to tackle unemployment. New labour exchanges have opened. The higher education ministry is trying to wean school-leavers away from high-status options like medicine and engineering by demanding ever-higher marks in their final school examinations.

But Western diplomats said action taken so far did not match the scale of the problem. Some official privately agreed.

"Unless more is done, unemployment will have a social impact and might eventually lead to unrest which would damage Jordan's security, confidence, and social fabric," said one.

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#### Minister of Labor Comments on Unemployment, Illegal Workers

44000013d Amman JORDAN TIMES in English  
3 Nov 87 p 3

[Article by J.T.]

[Text] Amman—Minister of Labour and Social Development Khaled Haj Hassan on Monday disowned a remark attributed to him that there were 80,000 Arab nationals working illegally in Jordan.

"The number of workers among our Egyptian and Syrian brothers working illegally in Jordan is a little over 50 percent of that figure," the minister said in a statement to the *JORDAN TIMES*. "The rest are working here legally and according to our laws, and as such, we welcome them and their contribution to the country," the minister added.

He was responding to a REUTER report carried in the *JORDAN TIMES* on Monday. The report quoted the minister as saying that there were over 80,000 illegal workers, 70,000 of them Egyptian and the rest Syrian.

Mr Haj Hassan reaffirmed his ministry's position that despite Jordan's appreciation of Arab and other foreign workers, those working illegally would still face deportation.

In his statement, Mr Haj Hassan said official figures for unemployed Jordanians stood at 40,000 and not 55,000 as some officials were quoted by REUTER as saying. The official figure of 40,000 represents 8 percent of the total work force in the Kingdom, the minister said. "It is according to the latest figures until October," the minister added, affirming Jordan expects the figure to drop in the next couple of years.

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#### **Holy Sites in Jerusalem Restored With Jordanian Aid**

44000013c Amman *JORDAN TIMES* in English  
4 Nov 87 p 3

[Article by J.T.]

[Text] Amman—Nearly 95 percent of the restoration work at the Al Aqsa Mosque in Arab Jerusalem has been completed with most of the JD 2.5 million spent on the work coming from Jordan, according to the former minister of public works, Raef Nijem, who is a member of a committee for the restoration of the mosque.

A large section of the interior of the mosque, including Saladdun pulpit, was burnt in an arson perpetrated by Jewish extremists in 1968. The Jordanian government began restoration of the damaged parts in 1970, Mr Nijem noted.

He said that Jordan, and the special committee in charge of the restoration, had sent out repeated calls to Islamic countries to contribute towards the restoration work at one of the holiest shrines in Islam; but only a limited number responded to the call, offering very meagre help.

A higher committee comprising representatives from Jordan, Egypt, Turkey, and Pakistan was set up to supervise the work and to raise the necessary funds for the project.

According to Mr Nijem, the rebuilding of the pulpit, which is yet to be completed, will involve at least 31 technicians experienced in wood carving. The pulpit was erected by Saladdun, the famous Muslim leader who liberated the city from the Crusaders in 1187 A.D.

Mr Nijem added that the committee has also embarked upon the reconstruction of the Dome of the Holy Rock in Jerusalem—a project which entails replacing the existing aluminium cover of the dome with brass sheets reflecting gold. The aluminium cover of the dome will be removed because it causes rainwater leakage into the shrine, Mr Nijem noted. He added that, during the coming year, a tender will be awarded to a company for replacing aluminium beams with lead ones and the installation of marble, at the cost of JD 1 million.

The committee in charge of the work has carried out other important restoration work at the Al Haram Al Sharif, the spot which embodies the Dome of the Holy Rock and the Al Aqsa Mosque. Mr Nijem warned that a number of Islamic relics inside the two shrines are facing danger and called on Arab and Islamic governments and organisations to contribute generously for the sake of preserving the Islamic heritage in Jerusalem.

Last month, a local firm signed an agreement here to install an early fire alarm system at the Al Aqsa Mosque. Sheikh Mohammad Mheilan, the chief Islamic justice and chairman of the committee in charge of restorations, said that sufficient allocations were made in the Jordanian government's budget to cover the cost of installing the system.

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#### **LIBYA**

#### **'Party System Phenomenon' Criticized**

45040016b Tripoli *AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR*  
in Arabic 19 Oct 87 p 5

[Article by Muhammad Salim al-Shalamani: "The Party System Phenomenon"]

[Text] The party system phenomenon, which is prevalent now in the world, is not democratic at all for the following reasons:

1. A political party represents a segment of the people, and the people's authority is indivisible.
2. A political party rules on behalf of the people, but what is proper is that no one can act on behalf of the people.
3. A partisan system aborts democracy.

### **A Political Party Represents a Segment of the People**

A political party represents no one but itself even though it represents a segment of the people. A party is the tool of an authoritarian dictatorship; consequently, it governs on behalf of the people. In practical terms it is an authoritarian tool seeking gains for itself and for its members who have common interests, a common education, and a common vision. That was explained in Chapter One of "The Green Book."

A party naturally represents one part ruling the whole. It is thus considered a tool by means of which the people are moved out of the picture so the party can dominate them and exercise its influence over them to achieve its own private interests.

### **A Political Party Rules on Behalf of the People**

A political party is a group of individuals seeking their own private interests. Given that situation, a party cannot govern for the sake of people's interests. As mentioned earlier, a party is the tool of an authoritarian dictatorship over the people. It would thus be inconceivable for a political party to express people's wishes. What is proper is that people should govern themselves and not be governed by a party, a class, or a sect acting on their behalf.

### **Partisanship Aborts Democracy**

Since a political party in all cases is not a democratic tool at all, because, as we mentioned earlier, it represents the tendencies of those who have similar interests and a similar education, it is, consequently, an obstacle to the achievement of true democracy that is based on government by all the people. Therefore, political parties abort democracy.

### **He Who Joins a Party Betrays His Country**

He who joins a party betrays his country. That is a fact imposed by the makeup of a party which seeks its own private interests and tries to spread its influence, authority and convictions on the people. A party would often become involved in a destructive struggle for power so it can gain power and implement its program which, primarily, would serve its own interests. Consequently, a struggle for power destroys the people's accomplishments as well as society's programs and plans. A destructive struggle for power often destroys the people's interests, their future plans, and their programs for reform. Therefore, it is true that he who joins a party betrays his country.

Based on all that we can say that political party systems which are now prevalent in the world are tools for dominating the people. Political parties are interested in monopolizing power on behalf of the people so they can achieve their own private interests. The definition of a

political party system in "The Green Book" makes it quite evident that political party systems are tools for dominance whose only concern is to achieve power at any cost, even if the interests of the people were destroyed in the process. That would be regarded as betrayal of the people's hopes and aspirations. The people have been seeking the liberation which was heralded by "The Green Book," a book that offered radical solutions to the problem of democracy and showed how people can govern themselves without having others represent them. There would be no factions, no tribes, parties, specific societies, or dominant individuals. People would govern themselves by organizing themselves into popular congresses that would enable them to determine their own destiny.

Accordingly, a party is a tool for dominance, and it is an obstacle to the achievement of the people's hopes. And that is considered betrayal of the people. Therefore, partisanship aborts democracy.

### **The Referendum Phenomenon**

A referendum is a process that was founded in the West. Rulers turned to it when they disagreed with parliament over the ratification of a law or statute.

A referendum in those ages was considered a democratic process. It is a process by which the people are asked to approve something the ruler wishes to have approved without the intervention of parliament whose members are elected from among the common people. A referendum is utilized in several Third World countries because these countries believe the process to be purely democratic. But the fact is that this process was not democratic at all. It is assumed and accepted that parliament considers all matters and decides whether or not to approve them. The ruler has the majority in parliament. In this humble study we provide examples in some western countries and in some Arab countries as well which claim to be democratic.

### **Britain**

Britain has a House of Commons, which is like a parliament. Conservatives control that house because they have a majority in it. There is also a House of Lords, and membership in that body is restricted to the powerful, the nobility and the bourgeoisie. The House of Lords has the right to repeal any law and statute that was approved by the House of Commons where conservatives have a majority. How then can one accept the proposition that there is democracy in Britain? It should be pointed out that members of the House of Lords are appointed and not elected.

### **France**

France has a political party system and a National Assembly which is elected by the people. Although the ruler's party also has the majority, the ruler is often

compelled to turn to the people and to keep parliament out of the picture when he wants a law or a statute ratified. Although the National Assembly is elected by the people and although the ruler's party does have a majority, a ruler regards his use of a referendum to be democratic despite the fact that we've accepted the notion that a referendum has nothing to do with democracy.

When what a ruler wants is presented to the people, many of them refrain from expressing their opinions. In all cases the outcome of a referendum is 51 percent, which is enough to have the law ratified. But the 49 percent who did not express their opinions do not matter. Consequently, such a referendum is no longer democratic because voters say yes or no but give no reason why they did not say no and why they did not say yes.

### Egypt

In Egypt, for example, one finds the epitome of falsification and keeping the people out of the picture. Egypt is one of the countries that practices the greatest deception about democracy. Its rulers have saddled the people with an arsenal of irreputable laws which falsified the people's wishes. The inevitable outcome of a referendum there is 99 percent, even if no one were to vote. It is known that Egypt has a National Party and that that party has a majority in the so-called People's Assembly. The National Party and the opposition, represented by the reactionary al-Wafd Party and the national al-Wafd, are not patriotic at all. The two of them are in agreement about deceiving the people. Despite this agreement and despite the fact that the National Party has a majority, the ruler often turns to the people to approve any law. This is because he wants to show that he is a man of the people and that he turns to them in all matters, big and small. The outcome, of course, would be known in advance. Official circles responsible for the election farce often declare that the total number of people who voted was 1 million and 500,000 voters. It is known that the Arab Republic of Egypt has a population of 52 million persons. This is undoubtedly a false democracy when only 1 million and 500,000 voters out of 52 million persons vote. Where is the democracy in such a situation? The ruler pretends to forget that when he issues a decree repealing a law that was passed by popular referendum, but he also pretends to forget that he is a man of the people, as was the case when the federation of Arab republics, which was approved by the people, was repealed.

### Conclusion

All this makes it clear that democratic systems are false and the referendum process is also false. "The Green Book" discredited that process and proved it to be useless. A referendum is a process of deception perpetrated on democracy; it is a means by which a ruler can project himself as a man of the people when the truth is

otherwise. "The Green Book" states that a referendum is a process of deception perpetrated on democracy. Those who said yes and those who said no in a referendum did not express their true opinions, but they were rather silenced on the strength of the concept of modern democracy. They were allowed to say only one of two words: a yes or a no.

This is the most cruel and the most extreme, oppressive, democratic regime. Anyone who says no to something should say why he said no to it and explain why he did not say yes. And anyone who says yes to something should show cause for his approval and explain why he did not say no. People should be able to say what they want and why they approve or reject something.

From Chapter One of "The Green Book."

08592

### Various Aspects Of Revolutionary Committee Thought, Activities Discussed

#### Revolutionary Freedom Defined

45040016a Tripoli AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR in Arabic  
12 Oct 87 p 6

[Article by Bashir al-'Arabi: "Freedom Lies in Siding with the Masses; They Sided with the Masses against the Masses"]

[Text] This issue of this revolutionary publication is being issued while the 10th meeting of the revolutionary committees is still underway. With its revolutionary youth, it is trying to shed the best possible light on that meeting so it can present it in a manner that this beautiful city by the sea could not. This publication wants to avoid the confusion that was closely associated with the committees which organized the first meeting.

The fourth session of this meeting is being held at a time when offensive action against the great al-Jamahiriyyah by reactionary, colonialist and imperialist forces is growing. This offensive, which is led by America, the leader of international terrorism, is being carried out against the great al-Jamahiriyyah, the refuge of revolutionary power for different countries in the world yearning for freedom. The aim of this offensive is to obscure the glow of the great 1st of September Revolution, that growing tide of revolution in the world. Those who are engaged in that offensive want to stop the revolution's progress which is threatening colonialist interests. This is the role that the Revolutionary Committees Movement with its revolutionary power is trying to project. The movement is trying to project that role through a program that guarantees assurances for the freedom of the masses and manifests itself in siding with popular authority. The masses can thus reach advanced positions where they can be shown how to investigate facts without hesitation so they can implement what they approved and make the state of the masses become reality.

Those attending this 10th meeting have been informed of the fact that true freedom for the masses can materialize only when a favorable climate is created. Such a climate has to accommodate a person who can function in accordance with that principle among those who lived with previous conditions and are living with existing events. He is a person who learns from what has been and is happening and moves on. Making freedom become material fact is not easy, as some people expect it to be, nor can it be realized without paying a price or making sacrifices. But the revolutionary committees, those agents which prod us to continue pressing for freedom, must be qualified for the job. They must have a perceptive understanding of the ideas contained in "The Green Book." They must be persuasive, and they must be convinced that executive agencies—the people's committees—are still associated to a large extent with traditional form. They must be convinced that those channels and agencies which have not yet been taken over by the people's authority are the pillars of the Libyan state's shadow government. They are striving to defend their own interests, and they are also striving to make this an international revolution. They are trying to spread their convictions, using their positions as members of revolutionary committees to do so. They act one way, but they believe another. They act as though they believed what members of the Revolutionary Committees Movement are supposed to believe. But they know quite well that they will side against that group and other groups which share their goal even though they do not share the same form and composition.

These are groups that are using their domination of legal and illegal executive agencies and trying everything to interfere with efforts to press for freedom and the institution of the direct practice of democracy in the Basic Popular Congresses to protect their own interests. To a large extent they are taking advantage of the fact that they infiltrated and penetrated the revolutionary committees. They are always trying to win over the minds of other movement members, and they are always trying to control them. That is the reason why many negative and poor phenomena emerged, and these became associated with members of the Revolutionary Committees Movement.

What a noble movement that movement is, and how vile these dregs of society are!

Everyone knows that the Revolutionary Committees Movement is too good to be a traditional, good-for-nothing movement of traditional people and idle loafers. It is a movement that rises above farces. It towers above the minds of infiltrators, encroachers, intruders and all those who think that they can achieve position and fame by joining the Revolutionary Committees Movement.

The 10th meeting of these revolutionary committees is considering the fact that the Revolutionary Committees Movement is not for those groups whose existence is incompatible with the movement's survival, but rather

for those groups which press for freedom by practicing it truthfully in the basic popular congresses. Thus, members of revolutionary committees are in a position to side with the masses regardless of the cost and sacrifices which have to be made. They have to side with the masses against executive agencies which are led by such groups of people. It is our opinion that these groups represent a crisis that is more dangerous than that of a foreign attack. Those dregs of society complement that foreign attack, or rather, they are associated with it. That is the second mission. The first mission is to build the foundations for our forward movement to escalate revolutionary pronouncements and deeds so we can attain a shining model of a state of the masses that will explore the horizons of creativity and excellence. It is a model which can counter all policies which want to lay a siege around it and humiliate it by all means.

Achieving for the masses the true freedom which manifests itself in the decisions they make in the Basic Popular Congress is something that requires considerable sacrifices and the harnessing of all energies. But that is not at all impossible for a nation whose people believe in God and His powers, a people whose faith is not marred by doubt, whose determination is unyielding, and whose will is linked with a desire to liberate man from all forms of restrictions, tyranny, and injustice. The Third World Theory presents an example of a human being who is a shining model of a human being in the Basic Popular Congress—one who is advancing fearlessly toward freedom and determining his destiny freely without any caretaker's recommendation.

Beware of those good-for-nothing, domineering groups who oppose the masses and their aspirations for the achievement of a radiant future. Side with the masses, for in doing so lies freedom and real victory over reactionaries, world imperialism and an urgent appeal to form a party. This is an appeal whose echoes and glow are still being heard and seen. Let's go forward as the revolutionary struggle continues.

#### Effects of Education

45040016a Tripoli AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR in Arabic  
12 Oct 87 p 6

[Article by al-Hadi al-Warfali: "On Education and Revolutionary Conduct"]

[Text] Any conflict between education and revolutionary conduct will engender objectionable conduct in the Revolutionary Committees Movement. It would be strong evidence against the nature of that education which gave rise to that poor conduct whose consequences have to be borne by those individuals who become engaged in it.

The Revolutionary Committees Movement has its education and vision. Accordingly, it also has its conduct which reflects the depth, authenticity and purity of that revolutionary culture which members of revolutionary committees adhere to in their pronouncements and

deeds. Since it is impossible for revolutionary culture to reflect deviant or superficial conduct, any conduct that violates the education and vision of revolutionary committees can never be accepted.

Any contradiction between culture and conduct is a radical contradiction hiding in the shadow of the equation. Such a contradiction remains an individual matter, and individuals who demonstrate conduct which is alien to the revolutionary committees' education are the only ones who are responsible for that deviant behavior or the consequences of translating their erroneous education into poor behavior. Consequently, the Revolutionary Committees Movement and its education can only reflect civilized behavior that is essentially on the level of the model behavior which the revolution is striving to create. The revolution is trying to create that essential model which embodies all the values, principles, morals and conduct of the revolution so it can make that model of behavior reflect the best picture of those values in the real world and complete the picture of a society of freedom and happiness.

Revolutionary culture, which is that of changing civilization, has as its aim uprooting those cultures of exploitation, slavery, tyranny, condescension, and domination of the masses. These are cultures which are firmly connected with the profound tragedy whose injustice and gloom was experienced by the masses for a very long period of time.

Thus, revolutionary culture is the culture which reflects in the real world all the good implications of natural relationships: freedom, equality, justice, and peace. In such a culture people can live as equals in a society whose members exercise authority, own wealth, and carry arms.

Revolutionary culture is the culture which opposes monopoly, hegemony, condescension and dominance. It also rejects the values of exploitation, oppression and slavery.

This is the culture of revolution which has to create a revolution in culture that could reshape life on foundations, ideas, morals and human values for [the creation of] a new civilization.

**Popular Decisionmaking Discussed**  
45040016a Tripoli AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR in Arabic  
12 Oct 87 p 7

[Article by Abu-Bakr Ahmidah: "Who Makes the Decisions?"]

[Text] The popular authority which the Arab people of al-Jamahiriya approved unanimously was to become the way by means of which the Arab people of Libya could map out the future of the Arab masses in Libya, in the Arab world, and then in the world. This world lacks a just approach that can be utilized in determining all

stages and forms of politics, if politics has form. It is known, however, that politics is nothing more than a collection of words that may be spoken by a king, a president, a party, or others. These words are set forth in the form of commands which are executed without discussion, deliberation, or scrutiny. And it is that which has brought the world of politics to where it is now.

The whole world is going through a stifling political crisis leading to conflicts that cost thousands of people their lives. Those people have nothing to gain from these conflicts which are always caused by an arrogant president, a feeble-minded king, a stupid sultan, or a military ruler who is a lackey and whose only concern revolves around the number of days and months he can keep the comfortable seat of power, which is attractive to mad men who choose politics as a career because they are selfish and unconcerned about what will become of their children, families, relatives, and proteges when the tables are turned and they are thrown out of office.

But the political situation in al-Jamahiriya is different from what it is in the rest of the world. In Libya politics is not words spoken by a king, president, or someone else. In Libya commands are issued by all the people of Libya—people of different races, ages, and education. All Libyans attend the sessions of the Basic Popular Congress. They all receive the working paper which is prepared by the masses and submitted to the People's Committees which oversee implementation.

But the question that is being asked now is this: Why have the people's committees faltered in implementing decisions made by the masses?

The reason why they faltered may be due to the fact that the masses lacked the awareness [they needed] when they were appointed to the people's committees, which are responsible for implementing these decisions. Social considerations from the past played an important role in selecting those who would take executive positions. Educated individuals and intellectuals were ignored when appointments were made to these committees, and tribesmen, people who were held in favor, and a select few celebrities were appointed. That is why the masses' decisions were afflicted with partial inertia. Sometimes there was total inertia because of some appointees' lack of awareness. Another reason for the faltering implementation is the spite felt by those select few celebrities who saw in popular authority an opportunity for dominating the masses. Their conduct resembled that of government men in capitalist and other countries. They either forgot or pretended to forget that they became members or trustees of this or the other committee in compliance with the wishes of the masses who put them in power and entrusted them with their destiny. They did not get those positions as a result of one individual's decision, a political party's "decree" or some other method. Thus, the rancor felt by those who were forced to serve on those committees in deference to the majority's opinion, as that is represented by the family or tribe, may be

justified and excused. But there can never be any excuse for those who took part in hurting the masses and tried to impede the course of freedom from subordination and backwardness which colonialism had imposed on our country.

The masses experienced a stage of liberty—total liberty. During the first decade in the life of the people's authority, there was no one controlling or guiding the masses, and no one was prodding them to put their decisions into effect or achieve their wishes. The answer to some questions may lie in this freedom. Some people are asking questions because they want to find out who will supervise the masses when a decision is put into effect. They want to know to whom will the people's committees be accountable when implementation is delayed. They want to know who, how, why, and for how long. All these questions are being asked by those people for whom the revolution is a luxurious car, a mansion, a passport, and extraordinary allowances. These questions are also being asked by people whose connection with the revolution is a piece of paper used to take advantage of others and to steal their property. This is what used to happen before the people's authority was proclaimed. It is what is happening now with a few abnormal people who are motivated by selfishness, greed, and inordinate covetousness.

The masses themselves sometimes wonder where one article is and why another one is unavailable. They are oblivious of their own decisions which they were determined to implement so that al-Jamahiriyyah would no longer be a backward country. They want their country to achieve the self-sufficiency that strengthens political liberty and would enable future generations to rely on themselves. But that goal has not and will not be achieved by issuing decrees or formulating them only. After decrees are issued, a very important stage follows: that of implementation. It is poor implementation by individuals or by the committee that has caused weak-spirited people to yearn for the days which preceded the authority of the people. It is known that if we were to make a list of operating factories in al-Jamahiriyyah, we would find that they produce enough goods for Libya's population and for the population of Libya's six neighbors. But the freedom which the authority of the people made available to producers, committees and all the people was misunderstood, and it is that which brought al-Jamahiriyyah to the state of inadequacy we have today and the questioning attitude we see.

The final question is this: Will the masses rise to the level of responsibility? Will they put emphasis on implementing their previous decisions? Will they force demagogues out of the sessions of popular congresses regardless of who they are, even if they were proteges of the revolutionary committees?

Finally, the masses are the only ones who can make that determination. The lesson of having relatives, proteges and celebrities in the congresses may have come to an

end, and the masses were the first to suffer from it. Decisions were delayed because of those proteges, and operations at factories were suspended because of indifference. People who are held in favor are making decisions on behalf of the masses. Those people got to positions of responsibility without the masses' knowledge. That is why there is no justification for any member who stays away when either an ordinary or an emergency session of the Basic Popular Congress is convened. The presence of congress members at those meetings confirms the freedom of the masses and gives them an opportunity to question those who failed to do their duty and end once and for all the control of those who are in power and who wait for opportunities to assail the masses' gains.

Sessions of the Basic Popular Congresses will be convened very soon, and everything will be discussed in them. This is because the Basic Popular Congress is the political platform where a variety of issues ought to be set forth and laid out. Backbiters and slanderers should come to those congresses and make their points and suggestions in a responsible manner, if those people have a sense of responsibility. Libya, above all, is not the property of the revolutionary or people's committees; it is rather part of a large Arab homeland which has been disheartened and is being targeted by the forces of injustice. That is why it is a matter of duty, patriotism and Arabism that we take control of matters now. We should rise above our hatreds and our past emotional—"hang-ups" and make decisions in our congresses that would be beneficial to Libya and to the entire Arab homeland.

No one will take another's place in making a political or an economic decision. That is the heart and soul of the theory. Only the foolish, who do not know the meaning of freedom, or idiots, who can live only under a president or a king who acts on their behalf, will fail to participate in the decision making process. Members of revolutionary committees which cannot show the masses the way should maintain their silence. They should leave the masses alone because without the masses they are worth nothing.

#### **Effectiveness Of Revolutionary Committees**

45040016a Tripoli AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR in Arabic  
12 Oct 87 p 12

[Article by 'Ali Mustah Qanun: "On the Concept of Psychological Warfare: the 17th Installment; the Effectiveness of Revolutionary Committees in Taking Preventive Action"]

[Text] The development of a great al-Jamahiriyyah as a new civilized model of a state is something that differs in form and substance from all other experiments which mankind, the world and history have known and experienced. On the one hand, it is a great humanitarian endeavor whose survival and ultimate victory will be the responsibility of all nations in the world. They will see to

it that this experiment will triumph once and for all over all the forces of tyranny, idolatry, and injustice which are still prevalent in the world today even though they have absolutely no right to be, unless, of course, the practice of material and moral terrorism is considered right. On the other hand, a humanitarian act such as this one remains extremely dangerous. Its danger lies in the true implication of its new conceptual premises which are manifested in the Third World Theory. "The Green Book," a book in three chapters, is the guide for that theory which provided a radical solution to all issues and problems facing human societies. It has become a concrete fact since 1977, setting forth its solutions in accordance with a splendid, practical system established on the basis of the people's authority. The people are the only ones entitled to such authority.

Ever since then, that new civilized model has become a great, integrated, yet discontinuous human battle, which is part of the legitimate struggle and conflict that are being fought in terms of the universal dialectic of conflict between nations and their enemies. The revolutionary committees, which are tools of the people's revolution, tomorrow's revolution, are fighting this battle on all its broad centers of combat. They are a vital factor, linking the masses with each other in their conflict and struggle against the forces of iniquity in the world. When these forces of iniquity are unable to confront the nations directly, they resort to psychological warfare and they use all the well-known means and methods of imperialism whose aim is to destroy the masses' spirit and morale.

Based on that premise, revolutionary committees, the harbingers of the new civilization, are fighting a battle heralding the great al-Jamahiriyyah, a state of the masses and a new model for mankind. But these committees are not fighting a traditional battle in the well-known, general sense of that term. Quite the contrary, they are fighting a battle in a historical, and cultural sense. In other words, they are fighting an intellectual, psychological, social, and practical battle against ignorance and backwardness and all the psychological complexes which are classified under what is known as psychological warfare in the contemporary, modern sense. The enemy has understood the evil dangers of such a war and is now using it against us to undermine our determination and our spirits which were liberated by the great 1st of September Revolution.

As they get together for their 10th meeting, revolutionary committees are being called upon to find out about the nature of the existing conflict between them and hostile forces. These include the forces of international imperialism, Zionists and reactionaries. Revolutionary committees are being called upon to understand the truth about this dirty war whose battles are being fought in the minds of the vast majority of the people whose simple minds have not grasped the nature of the battle between them and hostile forces. It is a battle that is being fought over the development of a great state of the masses as a

new, civilized model. This battle is still being fought in the real world, and no one can deny it or ignore it no matter how much he tries. In fact, what happens to anyone who tries to deny or ignore this war is the opposite because this war manifests itself in the conduct of common people: in their causes and in their daily lives as well. That is why revolutionary committees would be better than others for taking preventive revolutionary action to foil all the worn-out concepts which are employed by the enemy in this war. Revolutionary committees understand the nature of the blatant challenges that are carried out every now and then by hostile forces, and that includes waging such a war whose aim is to undermine the effectiveness of the masses' morale. That is why revolutionary committees would be better than others for liberating the masses' minds from their nightmare.

More than any other time in the past, the revolutionary committees which are now holding their 10th meeting—it is also their first silver anniversary—are being called upon to upgrade the revolution's style of educating the masses by working tirelessly in accordance with a systematic program that is characterized by continuity. The aim of such a program must necessarily be to discover all the accumulated false information whose sum total has an obfuscating effect which cannot be ignored at all. Accordingly, dire necessity requires that this information be mercilessly and pitilessly uprooted so that the ideas and convictions of world imperialist forces, Zionism and reactionaries can be defeated in the face of advancing new, revolutionary values and concepts which constitute the cornerstone of the great state of the masses, the new cultural model in the world.

Revolutionary committees which are now holding their 10th meeting under conditions that are extremely important, have to rise to the level of the historic, cultural and revolutionary responsibility which has been placed on their shoulders. These committees had voluntarily committed themselves to those responsibilities more than once, promising all of mankind they would assume the burden of that great responsibility, deliver them from darkness, and lead them to enlightenment. Revolutionary committees are the moving force behind nations in their legitimate struggle against their enemies who usurp power, wealth, and weapons. They employ the theory of armed struggle against all the different forms of colonialism in an ongoing battle and fight whose aim is to liberate the minds of the masses from the nightmares of alien, reactionary cultures that are used in the course of psychological warfare. They do that by carrying out preventive, revolutionary action in terms of a general mobilization whose essential aim is to expose the aims of that war.

Revolutionary committees are the advocates of national and religious unity. They are to use their studies of the theory of ultimate liberation and their logical, objective and scientific understanding of that theory and of all human knowledge to promote national and religious

unity. The time has come for them to deploy the weapon of new education for the masses to respond to this rabid and contrived war. They are to use the new education's style of argument, persuasion, kind and gentle debate which eschews blind fanaticism, demagoguery, and superficiality. They must address man's mind not his emotions. Also, they must not become unaware of the facts, nor must they conceal them from the masses. That would make matters worse, and the first and foremost goal of the masses would then be finding out the whole truth, which they would seek eagerly before anything else. The more hostile forces attempt to use psychological warfare, employing blackout and misleading techniques, the more thirsty the masses become for news, and the more anxious they become to find out the truth about what is happening everywhere. That in itself should be enough reason to set the proper stage for revolutionary committees and to give them a rare opportunity which should make them more eager to play their part in taking preventive action in the media against this contrived psychological war to develop and build the great state of the masses, the new civilized model of a state.

On that basis, revolutionary committees involved in developing and building the great state of the masses as a new civilized model state must now, more than any time in the past, know and understand the nature of the conflict that exists between them and the hostile forces which are engaged in desperate attempts to undermine or harm that great model. That is why it is extremely urgent now that revolutionary committees devise a preventive plan of action in the media to mobilize all citizens. They are to expose, uncover and reveal the implications of the rabid, skeptical media campaigns which are being launched every now and then by hostile forces. These campaigns are part of the psychological warfare whose aim is to create some kind of unrest and confusion and to numb the masses who constitute the country's strategic stock for the battle.

One of the functions of revolutionary committees is taking preventive action to immunize the masses. They are to offer learning and knowledge about all the important matters of life, especially those which have to do with the lives of the masses, their present and their future. In terms of their revolutionary nature and their knowledge, revolutionary committees are more qualified than others for serving in that function. They can use their meeting places and all their popular, revolutionary means and methods to carry out such preventive action. They can utilize all the audio-visual methods as well as the written word to move people to action so they can resist and confront this war in an informed, learned manner and respond to it in a rational, informed and objective way by utilizing all the popular media so they can kill this war in its infancy.

What is even more dangerous and more destructive than leaking and circulating rumors in popular circles is the mystery factor which makes those rumors acquire some

importance. If revolutionary committees were to take continuous preventive action in all the media as part of a general mobilization program to inform all the masses about important facts and incidents in all matters, hostile forces would have no recourse. These hostile forces are trying to use numerous channels to influence the morale of nations. If revolutionary committees were to take preventive action in the course of resisting psychological war, such a war would find no fertile ground where it could flourish. Unfortunately, however, given the present condition of the revolutionary committees and the fact that the mystery factor has not been removed, this war has fulfilled its objective. It has succeeded in its efforts to make a few malicious and sick elements promote and circulate rumors. Those people have so far escaped informed and responsible censorship. That is why this war has in many cases affected the minds of the vast majority of the masses.

Thus, mystery is the principal component upon which the effectiveness of this [war] depends to achieve its evil objective of undermining the masses' fighting spirit against their enemies who are working day in day out, in secret and in public to enslave them and to conquer them. But does this apply to military and security secrets? The answer is, of course, that is not what is being referred to here. However, we should not go overboard in safeguarding the secrecy of military and security matters. That, of course, would not be a feature of the new society of the masses.

Thus, preventive action means that every member of a revolutionary committee should on his own consider himself a psychological warrior engaged in responding to this war and warding it off whenever it appears on the scene. Given this situation, we must all become unknown soldiers, fighting in this psychological war and countering it.

So long, till the next installment.

08592

#### Attendance at People's Committee Meetings Urged

45040016c Tripoli AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR  
in Arabic 12 Oct 87 p 7

[Article by 'Imran Salim al-Tarhuni: "On the Duty of Attending and Showing Up at Basic Popular Congress; Interaction with the Masses Is Vital for Extending the Horizons of Freedom"]

[Text] "Popular congresses are the only means for achieving a popular democracy."

"Popular congresses are the ultimate goal of a peoples' movement in search of democracy." Chapter One, page 43.

"Popular congresses... are not the product of someone's imagination as much as they are the product of human ideas that grasped and absorbed all human experiences for the sake of establishing democracy." Chapter One of "The Green Book" pages 43-44.

"The power of the people has one shape only and can be realized in one way only: that of popular congresses. ... Without popular congresses there can be no democracy." "The Green Book," page 46.

"Popular congresses are those entities which dictate policy and supervise its implementation by all facilities. Thus, administration is handled by the people, and supervision is also carried out by the people." "The Green Book," pages 46-47.

It seems that one of the easiest ways for going beyond worn-out definitions of democracy and moving towards a unique state of the masses is emphasized by the Popular Theory. That unique state of the masses involves a hierarchy of levels stemming specifically from groups in society. The Popular Theory gave concrete form to the firm establishment of civilization by suggesting a return to the natural laws which govern the interaction of things. That stems from the reality of constant spiritual and conceptual truths. "Take counsel with them in the conduct of affairs" [al-Imran: 159].

The Arab revolution in Libya firmly implanted the direct approach in the process of taking counsel and advice. This is based on the gatherings of the masses in neighborhoods, villages, cities and rural areas. These gatherings are organized under administrative divisions that serve one purpose: consolidating the authority of the people, who are the only ones entitled to that authority. Democracy in dialogue is to be reinforced so that people can express opinions directly, freely, and fearlessly. The only commitment that is to be made in such a free expression of opinion is a moral one. It is a commitment based on realizing the dogmatic frameworks of the revolutionary theory and being bound by that theory alone and not by those who represent it. This is because it is the People's Congress that expresses the efficacy of.... [Translator's Note: The rest of the sentence, possibly four lines of Arabic text, seems to be missing from the article.]

In accordance with the foregoing, therefore, we think it behooves all the masses of the Basic Popular Congresses—individuals and groups of officers and soldiers, producers, farmers, old and young women and men, senior citizens, and students in all districts, villages, cities and rural areas—to show up and attend any one of these congresses. They are to attend these congresses, get themselves ready for them, and make preparations for the debates, dialogue and deliberations that are and will be on the agenda. We've already stated in the introduction to this topic that attendance enables us to ascertain that the maturity and awareness of our masses have reached such a level that makes them qualified to

become engaged in discussions about their causes. We can thus conclude that popular education is spreading steadily amidst the masses. That is like having a school for educating the masses. This school affirms the depth of the revolutionary vision of any solution to any problem or public difficulty—a vision that shows the precision and capability with which all administrative and organizational matters are dealt with on a local level.

In view of these inducements to show up and attend popular congresses and make decisions about what would be suitable to and consistent with the movement of the masses, it would be permissible for us to state that periods of revolutionary struggle in the birthplace of the great 1st of September Revolution revealed signs of the early onset of the advancing popular takeover which has to extend [its control] way beyond the first means of defense to those means which have cultural implications. The advancing popular takeover should gradually approach the stage of [controlling] human development. One of the most important results of that struggle was the emergence of a self-evident fact in the popular work of the masses. Such work, which is in accordance with the capabilities of the people's authority, took shape in the birthplace of the great 1st of September Revolution by virtue of the Revolutionary Theory of the Masses.

It was the Revolutionary Theory of the Masses which confirmed that direct, practical approach. And it is that approach which is the universal model that will live forever.

Because we believe in the evidence of the dispossessed on earth, the presence of the masses in the congresses, which span residential communities that are part of administrative divisions for freedom congresses, affirms the fact that we are a nation of people who are proud of our affiliation with the revolution, the homeland and the leader.

At the same time we are a people who safeguard our freedom so we can consolidate our presence and our ability to survive and struggle and advance in our paths. With the power of its masses the great 1st of September Revolution is heading for glory and eminence. Thus, the spirit of challenge and steadfastness will become firmly implanted because the factors for the revolution's progress are intrinsic. As long as we remain bound by our glorious revolution, which erupted on the 1st of September 1969, attending the Basic Popular Congresses is a must. It is our duty to the nation and to the masses. It is our duty to develop and expand the education of the masses. We urge members of executive and service agencies to attend the congresses when attendance does not conflict with the duties that were entrusted to them. The fact that everyone is included at these congresses is considered an enrichment of these Basic Popular Congresses. This all-inclusiveness demonstrates the accomplishments of the wise, reasonable opinions which are offered and the success that has been accomplished in developing people's intellect and education. We want the

philosophy of the masses to prevail. [Farewell] until we meet on the path of glory and eminence, the path of the revolution. [Farewell] until we meet in our popular congresses, where the method of exercising sovereignty and self-determination [is practiced]. The article on the Arab Revolution and Religious Reactionaries is being postponed for reasons that have to do with the subject itself.

08592

## SAUDI ARABIA

**Western Academic Treatment of Islam Criticized**  
44040026a *Riyadh AL-DA'WAH in Arabic*  
19 Oct 87 p 11

[Article by Dr 'Abd-al-Qadir Tash: "Academic' Circles in the West and the Distortion of Islam's Image — Two"]

[Text] The third Princeton University symposium discussed the subject of "behavioral and psychological techniques in the analysis and understanding of the modern societies of the Middle East." The symposium had the goal of describing Islamic society and determining the areas of strength and weakness in it. The fourth symposium was titled "Land, population and society in the Near East: studies in economic history from the emergence of Islam to the 19th century." The political purpose of this symposium is clear, since it investigates the relationship between the ownership of land, population characteristics, and government authority as signs of stability or instability in modern Islamic societies.

The Western academic institutions which are concerned with Oriental and Islamic studies are for the most part only an extension of the original Orientalist circles and circles for the spread of Christianity which helped pave the way for the Western imperialist forces to invade and colonize the Islamic East. Also, a number of people who in Western societies are today called "experts" of Islamic and Oriental studies and specialists in Middle East affairs are in reality only an arm for distortion of the image of Islam and the East on behalf of the attainment of the political, cultural, and economic interests of the modern Western imperialist forces.

It is not strange that we should find such a strong relationship between these "experts" and the academic institutions on the one hand and the politicians and political and strategic institutions in the media. All are agreed over a single goal, which is the confrontation of what they call "the Islamic threat" and prevention of the upsurge and advancement of what they call, without equivocation or concealment, the Islamic colossus. In this regard Professor Edward Said, in his abovementioned book, mentions that the conclusions of his studies affirm the congruence between the views of experts in oriental and Islamic studies to whom the political circles in the West turn for aid and the method by which the

Western media deal with the affairs of the East and Islam. He says, "These studies have underlined that the central idea the two parties (the experts and the media) possess is that Islam represents a threat to the West!" That is clear from Brzezinski's theory on "the crescent of crises" to the university professor Bernard Lewis' theory on "the return of Islam." Islam, as far as they are all concerned, means the end of Western civilization, in its capacity as an inhumane, undemocratic, irrational religion. Therefore, Islam, in the view of people who draw up Western policies or distort its image in the media, as Edward Said puts it, constitutes a threat which is inspired by an insurgent movement that does not just entail the danger of a return to the Middle Ages but also the destruction of the democratic system in the Western world. This view of Islam as Edward Said concludes is compatible with Orientalist thinking, which has implanted the belief that Islam does not just represent a fearful competitor but is a real challenge to Christianity.

The distortion of the image of Islam in the West is a deep-rooted phenomenon in Western history and the Western heritage, and has not come into existence overnight. The biased, misleading attacks the Western media carry out on Islam are only an extension of the old campaigns of conversion to Christianity and the Orientalist campaigns which today also are embodied in what those who are called experts in oriental studies and what the academic institutions and departments specializing in Middle East affairs are doing. Without an understanding of these deep historic roots of culture and civilization, we will never be able to master the phenomenon and consequently will never be able to confront it in accordance with a sound scientific realistic vision.

11887

**Public Sector Yields Economic Dominance to Private Sector**  
44040032 *London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic*  
28 Oct 87 pp 37-38

[Text] It would seem inappropriate to discuss the Saudi economic experiment within the context of discussing experiments of economic openness of certain countries in the region which have guided economies. The Saudi state is perhaps foremost among the world countries outside the advanced countries camp that adopts a free economic system clearly and without hesitation. In so doing the Saudi government is primarily guided by the principles of Islamic Shari'ah which stress respecting the individual and his right to preserve freedom of his work in the face of oppression and injustice.

In fact, seldom an economic occasion or economic conference or symposium occurs without Saudi officials clearly reiterating this commitment which, along with a number of facilities, incentives, and exemptions, make the kingdom the most secure area for private capital and investment in general.

### The Private Sector Stage

But the Saudi state was not satisfied with providing total freedom for private economic activity. Indeed it has for several years been striving by all means to invite the public sector to step forward in order to assume the leading role. The leadership's reasoning is that the public sector had for a period of time been compelled to undertake most of the economic activities because conditions necessitated laying down the basis for the establishment of a private economic sector. This involved building the infrastructure and providing financial, education, and training services as well as formulating the legal frameworks and engaging in other economic activities the cost of which individuals cannot bear and which yield no direct economic benefits. Now that the development of an infrastructure has been completed the role of the state in public spending should be overtaken by the private investment sector in financing projects and industries and building on what the public sector has already achieved. In fact, the past 3 years, which have been characterized by a drop in public spending to a level that would be normal in any other economy, saw the state strongly urging the private sector to step forward in order to fill the gap. Minister of Finance and National Economy Shaykh Muhammad Aba al-Khayl during the conference of Saudi businessmen had eloquently summed up this unique Saudi situation by saying that the kingdom is perhaps the only country in the world where the public sector takes it upon itself to create conditions and pave the way for economic dominance by the private sector and where the state willingly withdraws from every economic activity that can be undertaken by individuals.

It was no coincidence when the state, at the behest of the Custodian of the Two Holy Places King Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, attempted at the first opportunity to transfer part of the ownership of a major company like Sabic from the public sector to the private sector. This step was part of a series of similar steps which all aimed at involving individuals in economic activities and broadening the basis of ownership of major economic establishments. This is similar to "Saudizing" banks and encouraging the establishment of public shareholding companies or the establishment of joint companies with the private sector within the framework of the National Industrialization Company. It is to be noted that increasing the state's share in electric companies or certain transport companies show that the state's strong commitment to individual initiative is not dogmatic but rather based on the realization of the need in certain cases for striking a balance between the interest of the individual and that of the community, particularly when the risk factor in certain sectors is far too great to be borne by the individual alone.

### Sabic Experiment

The Saudi Company for Basic Industries (Sabic) represents a unique example not only in the field of industrialization and transfer of technology to the developing

countries but also in the distribution of wealth and transferring the ownership of government establishments to the private sector. Dr 'Abd al-Rahman al-Zamil, Saudi Undersecretary of Trade, told AL-MAJALLAH that with the emergence of the idea of diversifying the production base of the Saudi economy the idea of the private sector having a role in this materialized. But the field that was chosen, which was chemicals, was new and so it needed large investments and technical expertise that were not available in the private sector. Therefore, it was decided that the government should establish Sabic and pay its capital in full and help it to build its factories. After that it would offer its shares to the public which would own 75 percent of the shares and the government 25 percent in order to ensure the presence of government backing for this important and vital industry.

In early 1984 Sabic offered for sale 2 million shares valued at 2 billion rials, that is 20 percent of the fully paid capital which was 10 billion rials. 1.8 Million shares were allocated to Saudi citizens and 200,000 shares for citizens of the Gulf Cooperation Council. At the end of the subscription period the number of shares offered were oversubscribed three times.

As a result of this enthusiasm Sabic's board of directors decided to increase the percentage of shares offered from 20 to 30 percent and the number of shares from 2 to 3 million. All the shares to which the gulf citizens subscribed and which totaled 141,165 shares were allocated to them and the rest which totaled 2,858,835 were allocated to Saudi citizens. Small investors were favored when the allocations were made.

### Another Case

The second important case to be cited in this regard is the electric company. But Dr al-Zamil does not consider its experiment to be similar to the Sabic experiment because there were in the country some 40 electric companies owned by the private sector. Because of the increasing need [for electricity] and of the general development the state came to the conclusion that this situation cannot keep pace with development. Therefore, it offered to become a partner with these companies and to make further investments in the field of electric power. Because electricity is a public service for the citizens the state usually determines the tariff not strictly on the basis of commercial and operational factors.

In fact the various companies have been grouped into four major companies and the capital and assets of these companies were considered as their contribution to the new companies. But the number of shareholders will not increase because no shares will be offered to the public. It is within this context, al-Zamil added, we can talk about the public transport company. It is known that the public transport sector in the majority of world countries belongs to the state but in the kingdom it was established

as a result of initiative by the private sector. The government has decided to intervene and to support this utility by guaranteeing the company a fixed profit of 10 percent.

Asked whether there is an inclination to turn the ownership of certain establishments to the private sector, al-Zamil said that studies have been made with regard to the telephone [service], for example. There is also debate over transferring ownership of the Saudi Airlines and some of Petromin companies to the private sector by offering their shares to the public but so far no executive steps have been taken in this regard.

13305

## SUDAN

**Finance Minister on IMF, Country's Situation**  
45040008a Khartoum *AL-ASHIQQA* in Arabic  
1 Sep 87 pp 6-7

[Interview with Minister of Finance Dr Bashir 'Umar by Muhammad al-Shaykh Husayn: "We Have Convinced the IMF of the Failure of Its Prescription"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Need one say that a simple question does not necessarily lead to a clear and candid answer?

Suffice it to wonder for a moment and to look around us to realize that what stands between us and a solution to our economic crisis are many obstacles.

And between the depleted markets and the emaciated bodies are people as tall as a palm tree and with as much brains as a lamb, crowding the scenes.

When we sat as guests of Dr Bashir 'Umar, who holds the portfolio of finance and problems it was 9 pm, supposedly a time for rest and relaxation. But it was then that we chose to pack our bags to go on a trip.

During the dialogue—the trip—we discussed the IMF at a time when the dollar almost became the hidden conscience underlying every Sudanese action.

Our fear was that the crisis would reach a climax and take root, that economics is nothing but numbers, that dollar holders in the frivolous years of the May regime are mean and ignorant. People in the know say "inflation, which is reflected in steadily-rising prices, has beleaguered the middle class at a time when this class was and still is the backbone of the class structure in Sudan."

Whatever the levels of perception, we shall put our legitimate fears aside to introduce you to the views held by Dr Bashir 'Umar which come through as calm and optimistic, swaggering with confidence as though they were staunting. A multiplicity of opinions is the hallmark of rich dialogue which ought to be shared.

[Question] The communique you issued about the negotiations with the IMF was not sufficiently clear. Does that mean that the negotiations hit a snag?

[Answer] Not at all. During the negotiations, we hit one or two snags when the Sudanese side insisted on certain clearly-defined positions. This is the reason they lasted 10 instead of 3 days as had been scheduled.

On the last day, "the day of the feast," we were able to reach a final agreement which was signed by both sides.

Pursuant to this agreement, I sent a letter with the delegation to the IMF director in which I said: "Now that an initial agreement has been reached with the IMF delegation, we expect the IMF and the entire international community to make good on their pledge to support Sudan in the event that specific program was agreed upon.

[Question] So far you have not gone to Washington to sign the final agreement. Does that mean that the initial agreement requires further negotiations to become final?

[Answer] The agreement is final and my trip to Washington is not to sign the final agreement. When the IMF accepts the Sudanese program, my trip to Washington will be to garner financial support for the program.

We are in daily contact—by telex—with the IMF board of directors in Washington. The IMF board of directors has accepted the program and guaranteed it. This was followed by an agreement between the IMF management and a select group of countries with financial influence.

The IMF management has begun to garner support from these countries for the Sudanese program.

[Question] Does this agreement with the IMF mean that Sudan has moved away from its neutral position, reverting to the point where the al-Numayri regime came to an end with all the perils that such a reversion entails?

[Answer] I must make it clear that this statement is false and the information in it must be laid out as follows:

When we entered into negotiations, we had to decide two things: do we want to sever our relations with IMF for good and, if so, what other options did we have?

Or do we want to restore these relations and, if so, on what basis?

Upon debate, we ruled out the first possibility of severing relations with the IMF in order to avert many unfavorable ramifications.

Regarding the second possibility of maintaining these relations, we decided at the outset that preserving them under IMF conditions was not required and we would have finally ruled out the so-called IMF prescription.

Indeed, our view was that these prescriptions had failed in the past and it was our duty to convince the IMF of this fact. Moreover, the IMF prescription lacked accurate statistical data about the society in which these policies were to be implemented. The third point is that the Sudanese side was not ready in the past to undertake the preparations necessary for negotiations with the IMF and so the latter was used to draw up proposals, to plan and to decide on behalf of the Sudanese side, thus affording itself the opportunity to dictate its own conditions with ease.

This time around, preparation took one and a half years and was interspersed with side negotiations that allowed us to understand the negotiator's mentality and discover his points of weakness and strength, if you will.

In short, the agreement we have concluded is the best one under the current circumstances of the Sudanese economy. It did not relinquish national sovereignty nor did it revert to the May era.

[Question] How do you explain the inconsistency between official statements denouncing the IMF while the government is following in its footsteps by liquidating the public sector, floating the pound and cutting back on employment and other things contained in the IMF prescription?

[Answer] All the things you have mentioned have not been adopted by the government yet. Quite the opposite. The government has rejected these things as a strategic policy.

There has not been any talk so far about floating the pound and this will not happen. There has not been any move to liquidate the public sector. We have said that certain public sector establishments were in great disorder, either administratively or financially, and this must be treated.

To do so, we have drawn up a public corporation reconstruction program that includes an agreement with the IMF to promote production and productivity.

Such promotion may sometimes call for the liquidation or sale of losing enterprises to the private sector if it is deemed in the public interest not to hold on to them.

I do not think that any economist in his proper mind can reject such an action.

[Question] The 4-year relief program was prepared during the conflict with the IMF. Now that an agreement has been reached with the IMF, which one will affect the other?

[Answer] The 4-year relief program is the 4-year medium-term plan which we hope will serve as the general framework for all economic reforms in the next four years.

In our discussions with the IMF, the final agreement was reached in light of the program whose draft will be finished at the end of the current month and the final document by the end of this Christian year.

Hence, the agreement with the IMF will flow into the 4-year plan and not the other way around.

[Question] One of the most important aspects of the budget's foreign components is to attract expatriate savings. This has proven unsuccessful in view of the announcement by the commerce minister that we have failed to attract expatriate savings. Moreover, the foreign aid revenues are fully tied to IMF validation. In light of this, to what extent is the 4-year relief program in jeopardy?

[Answer] Regarding expatriate savings, efforts are being made to draw them into the country within the framework of integrated policies which, in my opinion, are better left undiscussed until the final announcement.

As for tying foreign aid to IMF validation, an agreement has been reached with the IMF and we truly expect foreign aid to start flowing in faster and in a greater volume than the way it was prior to the agreement.

Let me give you a number of examples. As soon as the agreement with the IMF was concluded, the World Bank sent its approval to proceed with the railroad repair relief program full speed. It also approved the continuation of the agricultural reform program in the neighborhood of \$60 million and has begun activating several trade protocols. We expect foreign aid to start flowing in in the form of payments toward Sudan's \$500 million outstanding debts to the IMF, commercial goods subsidies, efforts to close the gap in the balance of payments and an influx of new capital for financing.

[Question] Is there a difference between importation with self-resources and importation without a value transfer?

[Answer] The answer is yes if we consider what we mean by self-resources. The idea is that some Sudanese citizens own real resources deposited in their accounts abroad.

How did this happen? The answer to this question flows in three different directions:

First, when the open-market policy was announced during the tenure of former finance minister Badr-al-Din Sulayman in 1979, huge amounts of money flowed out of the country.

Second, some Sudanese people have profit-yielding investments abroad and consequently they have set up self-resource accounts.

Third, some people have attracted expatriate money which has been diverted to self-resources abroad.

Based on this perception, these resources abroad must come into Sudan in accordance with clearly-defined rules and into accounts overseen by the government, with the Bank of Sudan setting the rules that allow these resources to be invested in importing foreign commodities after opening a letter from inside Sudan against real resources.

Besides importation without a value transfer, an importer can arrange for foreign financing "in his own way," whatever that may be. This is where verification of real resources would be lacking and the danger lies in that the importer may be forced to buy dollars from the local markets, thus triggering speculation in the dollar and raising its value.

The basic difference between the two systems is that reliance on the local market for foreign currency would be less intense in the self-resources system.

[Question] The term self-resources obviously signifies reliance on the black market to secure hard currency. Does this not mean a lower value for the Sudanese pound and higher prices for imported good?

[Answer] Not all importers using the self-resources system actually have enough self-resources to cover their bills. Consequently, reliance on the black market is to be expected. It must be noted here that prices of consumer goods increase only if the cost is calculated at a high rate for the dollar which is unlikely because the importer in question would have obtained the foreign component from self-resources.

Therefore, this phenomenal jump in commodity prices due to a rise in the value of the dollar, of which you speak, is unlikely.

There may be some kind of increase, but not in the way you have mentioned. This economic analysis would be coupled with an administrative effort to institute commodity control. By coordinating with all concerned parties, we can intensify our commodity and price control in order to preserve the purchasing power of low-income people.

Furthermore, a relative rise in the dollar's value due to demand will be temporary. Why?

Because the market now is experiencing a shortage in many commodities and importers are rushing to import these scarce commodities to turn this shortage into quick profit.

Moreover, the Sudanese market is a limited consumer market. Three licenses for matches or paste create a surplus thus ending the need for the dollar. When this occurs in other commodities, the demand for the dollar drops.

The upshot of all this is that the dollar's value will drop and the price of imported goods will essentially drop as well.

These are all temporary measures, particularly if we realize that a part of imports by self-resources will be allocated for the purchase of industrial production machinery which is bound to raise the production capacity of the local industry and increase its output. When supply exceeds demand, prices drop.

I think it is a measure we were compelled to take in the face of market shortages. Peace be with you.

12502

#### Interior Minister Discusses Cassette Scandal

45040008a Khartoum *AL-ASHIQQA'* in Arabic  
1 Sep 87 pp 6-7

[Interview with Interior Minister Ahmad Husayn: "I Had Nothing to Do, Directly or Indirectly, With the Cassette Affair. The Cassette War is a Kind of Extortion Unprecedented in Sudanese Society"; date and place not specified]

[Text] It was imperative that our primary dialogue this week be with Mr Ahmad Husayn, minister of the interior.

Besides the fact that the most important events of the week were related to security, this man's name, both in his official and personal capacity, was mentioned by everyone.

The cassette affair, set ablaze by the major news item reported in *AL-SIYASAH* newspaper last Saturday was unquestionably the most sensational. dl sea

Notwithstanding the rumors and allegations making the rounds in the city, Mr Ahmad Husayn was the official who confronted the cassette controversy with remarkable firmness.

And small wonder, for it is the man's lot as interior minister to reassure the people about their security and safe destiny.

It was for these same reasons that we went to him and had the following interview:

[Question] What is the truth about the cassette affair reported in *AL-SIYASAH* which led to its suspension? In what way was the interior minister connected with this cassette? And do the laws in force allow this kind of activity?

[Answer] First, let me begin by saying that the interior minister had nothing to do, directly or indirectly, with this affair. Indeed, he heard about it for the first time from reports published by *AL-SIYASAH*. He was just as

surprised as anyone else by the gravity of the reports. Regardless of the contents of the cassette, this is a strange means of extortion unprecedented in Sudanese society and herein lies the danger. Indeed, effective laws do not permit such practices. Furthermore, such tactics are a threat to the regime and a blow to democracy itself.

[Question] Why did you suspend AL-SIYASAH? Is this not an infringement of democratic rules and traditions? How was the decision adopted?

[Answer] We must ask ourselves what is democracy? For the matter in a nutshell revolves around the "freedom of the press," the fourth estate, which has the same responsibility as the three powers. AL-SIYASAH's report and the manner in which the news was handled were aimed at the worst kind of sensationalism and extortion by setting a deadline for the warning. One day after the news came out, we gave AL-SIYASAH 24 hours to mention the intended minister by name and announce to the Sudanese people the details of the conspiracy or scandal.

Its reply, however, was extremely strange. It talked about the gravity of the affair and demanded the formation of a committee to investigate it! This was done after the political climate had been filled with speculation, innuendos and analyses that dealt a fatal blow to the government's credibility with the public. Something had to be done in this respect. Hence the choice of suspension which allows resumption without adopting any measures against the owner of AL-SIYASAH and precludes any conflict with any ongoing investigations in this case. The decision, however, was not made by the interior minister but rather by the ministerial committee in charge of enforcing the emergency bylaws.

The question about the decision conflicting with parliamentary convention leads me to say that the way the report was published and the method in which the recording was done were primarily aimed at undermining democracy in Sudan. Therefore, we must safeguard our democracy and all opinions that have been expressed in this regard are ludicrous and I will not dignify them with a reply.

[Question] Your decision to suspend the newspaper was based on the emergency bylaws, keeping in mind that the declared political agreement between the leaders of the Unionist Party and the Ummah Party calls for revoking the emergency laws and amending them in such a way as not to infringe on freedoms.

[Answer] The emergency bylaws are still in effect and, accordingly, some people are still under detention. There is no clear political decision at present regarding this matter. Everything that has been announced in this regard was aimed at coordinating positions between the two parties so as to avert any conflict within the constituent assembly at this time.

[Question] It has been noted that the relationship between the Unionist Party and Ummah Party has become thorny and fraught with conspiracy: the Ahmad al-Sayyid affair, the cassette affair, etc. To what do you attribute this phenomenon? Who started it, you or Ummah Party? And what impact has it had on the Unionist Party in terms of its unity, cohesion and so on?

[Answer] At the very least, we in the Unionist Party do not engage in conspiracy. This is something we refuse to discuss on principle. As for relations between the two major parties, some disagreements have existed ever since Dr Ahmad al-Sayyid was nominated to fill the fifth seat in the Supreme State Council and the Ummah Party rejected this nomination. This conflict came to a head when Mr Mirghani al-Nasri was nominated and elected by the Ummah Party. I dealt with this entire matter during the press conference I held recently. Actually, relations between the two parties have been subjected to a severe shock. In answer to who started it, I have not doubt that it was the Ummah Party.

Regarding the impact on the party bases, I should make it clear that, in the Democratic Unionist Party, democracy is the main ingredient and that is why, under normal conditions, observers may get the idea that the party is disunited.

This impression is in fact false and sometimes induced by the fact that the Unionists have a propensity for speaking their minds and for not accepting any decision without debate and democratic vote.

This democratic practice gives the impression of disunity, but when the chips are down the party shows its true mettle and manifests its obvious unity. The fact is that the Unionist Party has been voluntarily mobilized from top to bottom, which is not unusual in a party ruled by democracy. Quite the opposite is true of parties not ruled by democracy.

[Question] Have you read Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's speech published in sister [publication] AL-ALWA in which he expressed his opinion about the nature and practices of the Democratic Unionist Party?

[Answer] Yes, I have read this speech and was expecting a disavowal by the Ummah Party, something that has not yet happened. There is no doubt that such an opinion should not have been published and that his erroneous evaluation gives the wrong idea about the Unionist Party.

In my view, this kind of evaluation undermines confidence between the two major parties, given the current political situation.

[Question] What is the latest word on the people who have been taken into preventive custody? Is it true that they have not been questioned yet?

[Answer] We are assessing their situation from time to time in light of information gathered by security agencies. Some have been released and anyone who had a hand in anti-democratic action will be placed under investigation.

[Question] What are the facts about the weapons issue? It has been said that parties, individuals and militias own weapons.

[Answer] Ongoing security campaigns are being waged and we always seize some weapons, but in small amounts. We have no information about specific political sides possessing weapons. However, some have been seized because many parties who used to operate from abroad came to Sudan after the uprising. These parties have trained individuals, hence the feeling that they possess weapons.

As for the militias, we do not have any information about parties having militias. However, there are indeed armed tribes that use their weapons for armed robbery and settlement of inter-tribal differences. We are well aware of this danger and are making serious attempts to disarm them.

[Question] Don't you think that this situation paves the way for a new slowdown in the democratic process and what can be done to avert such a situation?

[Answer] We have noticed some escalation in aspects that can actually undermine democracy. We are supposed to face up to our responsibilities now that Sudan is at a dangerous historical crossroads. When they talk or when they issue statements, they ought to take the country's situation into consideration.

Pursuit of party or personal gains and intrigues and machinations are tactics that must be repudiated.

At the personal level I am confident that democracy is guarded by the people who have achieved it and will guide it through its full growth and development.

[Reporter] Upon turning off the recorder at the end of the interview, Mr Ahmad Husayn quipped: "I am not allergic to cassettes."

12502

## SYRIA

Argentine Arab Community Visits, Pledges  
Support  
44040030a Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic  
23 Oct 87 p 1

[Text] Yesterday at noon comrade 'Abdallah al-Ahmar, assistant secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, received representatives of the committee to support the people in the occupied Golan, which is working among the Arab communities in Argentina and includes our brothers 'Abd-al-Latif Yunus, Rashid Saba and Sattam Qaddur.

The discussion during the meeting revolved around the Zionist occupation practices in the occupied Arab territories, against our people in Golan in particular, and the efforts this situation requires of the committee to explain this state of affairs and make the Arab communities in the areas of residence abroad experience the struggle of our people in the Golan against the Zionist occupation and its practices, for the sake of supporting the resistance of the people of the Golan by the means that are possible, expressing the connection with our Arab nation's national destiny.

11887

## Party Meetings Discuss Regional, International Events

44040027c Damascus AL-THAWRAH in Arabic  
18 Oct 87 p 5

[Text] Comrade Mahmud Nuri Kalu, secretary of the party branch in Aleppo, met with the comrade secretaries and members of the party branch and group commands and the heads and members of the people's organizations, vocational unions, the deputy chief and the members of the executive office of the local department, the heads of government departments and a large gathering of party comrades in the presence of the comrade members of the party branch command.

The comrade party branch secretary explained the most important events and new developments on the Arab and international scenes and the exertion of political and economic pressure by which American policy is characterized on the countries of the third world in order to obstruct their economic and social growth, causing these countries additional burdens, including the Arab nation, by provoking areas of tension in the world.

The comrade party branch secretary asserted that Syria's fixed positions of principle under the leadership of our comrade the secretary general of the party, President Hafiz al-Asad, will not be shaken and it will continue to fight in order to thwart all hostile plans aimed at shaking this country's perseverance.

The comrade secretary of the party branch in Aleppo, in conclusion of his talk, called for absolute commitment to the directives of the leader and symbol, Hafiz al-Asad, and the need for the reduction of waste and self-reliance for the sake of guiding consumption, the optimum use of all industrial factories and installations, and the use of underground resources to build the economic base in the direction of building the modern Syria by sacrificing some of our needs to build our cohesive national state.

In Latakia, as well, Comrade Ghazi Khadrah, secretary of the party branch, met yesterday with the comrade party branch secretaries, people's organization and vocational union heads and worker members.

Comrade Khadrah offered a detailed explanation of the most recent new developments on the Arab and international scenes and our country's fixed positions. At the meeting, a comprehensive review was made of the status of work and activities in the area of the party branch leadership's activities.

The comrade governor talked about service affairs and expressed the attention the party is devoting to service projects of concern to the citizens.

In Dar'a, Comrades Yusuf Bisharah and 'Ali al-Aswad, member of the command of the party branch in Dar'a, talked with the comrade students at the branch party preparation school, class of 87. During the meeting a discussion was held on the new developments on the Arab and international scene and the country's position on them as our comrade the secretary general of the party defined them. At the end of the meeting answers were given to questions posed by the comrade students which concentrated on political, economic and intellectual considerations. In the same context, the day after tomorrow, Tuesday, a cultural debate will be held at the branch level in the chamber of the workers' union to choose the elected person who will represent the Dar'a branch on the level of the country.

11887

#### Minister Requests Accelerated Real Estate Bank Payments

44040030a Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic  
22 Oct 87 p 2

[Text] Mr Sha'ban Shahin, the minister of justice, has demanded of the executive departments in the courts that it is necessary to exert more attention in applying the real estate bank law and its statute of operations with respect to the collection of debts and loans due the bank and he requested the executive departments to accelerate the performance of this bank's transactions, rely on the board of announcements to give notice to cases by means of which it is legal to give notice and hand over judicial memoranda and executive papers subject to notification to an authorized bank employee by letter from the bank management so that notification of his fiscal mediation by the bodies legally assigned to it may be given.

In another area, the minister reminded the judges of the need to seek the department of public conscription's opinion on all cases which have the aim of amending the date of Palestinian Arab draftees' search for asylum in the country, whether the case is still pending or is to be refiled, and the effect that that has concerning the conclusions of the verdicts issued on amending the exemption of some of them from military service in Syria.

11887

#### New Farm Labor Reforms Reviewed

44040027a Damascus AL-THAWRAH in Arabic  
3 Oct 87 p 3

[Article by Muhsin 'Abd-al-Rahim: "Shedding Light on the Activity of the Agricultural Development Workers' Union in Damascus"]

[Text] There is no doubt that the agricultural sector in our country has great importance in the economic context. Therefore, it has been necessary to increase attention to the agricultural question and create the wherewithal for it and to care for workers in this field, since they are the most important element in the agricultural production process. Therefore, the union entities in the country created the agricultural development union, which has the aim of organizing people working in this sector within a single organization through which they will try to help advance the production process and also contribute to developing the agricultural sector in all its features and work to solve the problems of workers in this sector in a manner which will help develop production through the development of their technical and vocational abilities. Therefore the following conversation with our brother Sha'ban Sha'ban, the chairman of the agricultural development union in the Damascus workers' federation, was a necessity for us.

#### The Purpose in Creating the Union

Concerning this point, our brother Sha'ban Sha'ban said:

"The agricultural development workers' union in our country was created in the second half of 1986. This establishment process occurred as a response to a necessary requirement in our country's life, in order to keep abreast of the course of the revolution and the party in increasing attention to the sector of agriculture by creating comprehensive social and economic development and as a result of the great development which occurred in union organization in our country and its concerns in this important development sector, in view of the prominent role it plays in overall processes of construction and the development of the domestic economy. The workers' communities now belonging to our union have been combined under the banner of the union organization in the sectors of other unions' activity, specifically the food industry workers' and government and municipality employees' unions. On the basis of the decree of the general federation of workers' unions in the Syrian Arab Republic, with the creation of the agricultural development workers' union our union is now leading the union committees belonging to the Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform.

"Here it is necessary to point out that after the process of founding our union and our union committees was completed, the number of committees belonging to the agricultural development workers' union in Damascus came to 23 and the number of male and female workers belonging to the union when it was first established came

to 1,006 and the number of people belonging to the union as of this date to 2,154, approximately a year after the establishment of the union. Auxiliary committees have also been formed in the union committees in various fields, in addition to the formation of auxiliary offices in the union office. All these committees perform their activity in a complete fashion in terms of participating in field tours the office has been making since its establishment. In addition, the working women's committee has been formed in the union office and the union committees, and these committees are following up on their work in the workers' communities, most particularly encouraging workers to belong to the union organization."

### Union Tasks

On this point, our brother Sha'ban said, "The first task was to organize the union and assemble the ranks of the union members belonging to the agricultural development workers' union. This particular activity is necessary in a union that has been created and constitutes a special characteristic in our plan of action. With respect to this consideration, we are relying on joint everyday activity with the union committees, the Damascus federation of workers and the vocational federation so that there will be permanent daily connecting links among ourselves in a manner which will allow the arrangement of personnel, the accreditation of bodies, the transition from the stage of construction to the stage of union activity, participation in the development and increase of production and attainment of the interests of the nation and the workers. Our work in its broad outlines is directed toward the realization of the tasks of the successful internal construction of the union committees and the auxiliary committees, their transition in the direction of carrying out the tasks in a successful form and also the strengthening of the role of the union and the union committees in the area of agricultural development and participation in the solution of tasks facing the agricultural and livestock sector by creating subjective and objective conditions so that the organizations, departments and installations may absorb work plans and programs in accordance with the president and fighting man Hafiz al-Asad's directives calling for an increase in production, limitation of waste, consumption and spending and reliance on collectivism and individualism. The union, in the organizational field, is also organizing permanent daily meetings and expanded gatherings in a manner which will hasten the mastery of the collective tasks and will deepen intellectual and organizational unity and the role of the union committee and the auxiliary committees at the jobsites and increase their influence on the life of the labor community."

### A Quantum Leap

Our brother Sha'ban went on to say:

"We are trying to achieve a quantum leap in the area of union activity and also to make local alternatives an existing fact by helping to set out studies through cooperation and coordination with the general bodies concerned, continuous investigation of the production of economic processing plants, the expansion of fruit tree cultivation, the development of nurseries, the improvement of greenhouses, the use of plots of land surrounding installations, the development of the production and elimination of recourse to imports of agricultural seeds and study of the possibility of producing agricultural pesticides locally, manufacturing veterinary medicines and inoculations and limiting their imports. The union also participates in the study and improvement of diverse livestock production, the effort as far as possible to limit the import of types which can be improved and developed, attention to the improvement of nutrition and the improvement of veterinary and disease prevention services, the reduction of the rate of spending and the effort to improve fodder production, also through expansion of the farming of fodder crops, and in addition participation in the study of the possibility of developing beehives through cooperation with specialists and technicians in this area, the request for the development of accreditation and training centers to raise the technical and scientific level of people working in the various areas of livestock and plant production, the development of institutes and centers which are able to graduate the desired technical personnel, maximum use and maintenance of existing equipment, the manufacture of spare parts and agricultural implements locally, and support for and consolidation of individual and collective initiatives. These important issues and others are the prime incentive for our union's activity, which is an issue of priority in the area of our activity, so that we may realize the goal for whose sake the agricultural development union's sector in the union movement was established.

### Social and Cultural Activities

"In addition, the union has performed a number of social and cultural activities. It has engaged in carrying out a comprehensive survey of illiterate workers and has also established the social assistance fund in the union's office. This fund offers various services to our brother workers in cases of marriage, illness, childbirth, death and so forth. The union has also made contracts with labor projects to treat our workers and offer them services. The union has also created consumer warehouses and nurseries in a number of satellite communities and these are following up with the effort to provide these services in the other communities."

### Difficulties

Our brother Sha'ban continued the conversation by saying:

"The most important difficulties the union is facing include the problem of settling down temporary workers in the Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform along with people who have not yet been settled, although the government employees' charter has stipulated the settlement of temporary workers, especially Article 164. It is worth pointing out that most of these workers are active in the area of production and since the general agricultural entities are in need of these productive workers and technicians it is necessary to settle them down in their work, in view of the importance this has as far as supporting production goes, since that gives workers comfort and increases their ties to their work."

### An Opinion

It has been noted that the workers active in this sector suffer from a number of difficulties, especially those related to work contracts, which for the most part are temporary, although the union bodies have pointed out that there is a need to settle down a large number of them in view of the productive bodies' need for them. In addition, the consolidated employees' law gives them an opportunity to be settled in their work.

11887

### Damascus Area Supply Violations Monitored 44040027b *Damascus AL-THAWRAH in Arabic* 22 Oct 87 p 6

[Article by Khaldun Taha: "Rural Damascus: Intensified Supply Campaigns against Areas of Violations"]

[Text] The supply issue has become the preoccupation of every citizen in the country and it is the citizen's concern to receive his requirements at the lowest prices within the tariffs the supply departments set out for him.

His first concern is good commodities, a proper price and the presence of his requirements in the markets, free from monopolies, acts of speculation and the black market.

### Supply Oversight

It is to be noted that the supply department in the Province of Rural Damascus is carrying out concentrated activity in order to run its patrols in the various areas and towns belonging to the province, oversee the markets, apply pricing, prosecute violators, close their shops if necessary and hand some of them over to the judiciary so that they may receive their just punishment.

Branches have been formed throughout the areas and they are responsible for supervising their areas. Their location in the area in which they operate is fixed.

Those branches which are close to one another join forces, carry out collective campaigns and cover all violation areas. As an example, but not an exclusive

matter, last Sunday they carried out four joint patrols among these branches to the town of al-Sitt Zaynab and immediately arranged 38 arrests.

### Lists of Influential Persons Who Receive Materials

For more clarification on this matter, Mr Rafiq Qaddur, the director of supply in the Province of Rural Damascus, told us:

"The department has now finished setting out lists of influential persons and merchants receiving materials such as sugar, flour, oil, shortening, coffee, vegetable oil and other foodstuffs, and the initiative has been made to determine that these materials are received and let out for the purpose for which they were allocated. This process will provide great returns in the citizens' and consumers' behalf.

"Another group of merchants sell their allocations before they get to their shops for the sake of greater profit and they deprive the citizens of their rights which the government has allotted them. These people are also subject to penalties and to the closure of their shops if necessary. Now that we have completed these lists and started to investigate them, we will run patrols to oversee this operation.

"We carried out the experiment of these lists in 1985 and 1986. After the census, we came upon 700 merchants and shopowners who were taking in consumer goods and not delivering them to citizens in full, and some of them were disposing of them as if they were their own property. Arrests of all of them were immediately arranged and their allocations were cancelled.

### Future Projects

"Among our future projects, we are trying to complete the new building which we have taken in the al-Yarmuk camp in order to create a special supply branch so that its activities can include the entire East al-Ghawtah. The department now directly supervises the al-Ghawtah, and this causes some difficulties in terms of the movement of employees and speed of oversight at the specified time.

### The Patrols Are Continuous

"In our department the patrols are continuous and unremitting, especially in the rural areas. Our area of activity extends from the borders of al-Qalmun to Mount Hebron, passing through East and West al-Ghawtah to the Syrian Desert.

"At present we have eight permanent branches and residents in the regions on a permanent basis. They are equipped with all the employees, equipment and other apparatus they need.

"The branches are deployed in the following areas: al-Nabak, Yabrud, al-Qatifah, al-Tall, al-Zibdani, Qatna, Dariya and Duma. As to al-Hajar al-Aswad, the camp and East al-Ghawtah, they are served by the department directly.

### The Types of Complaints

"With respect to complaints, these can be presented directly to the patrols as they carry out their work or perform their duties. These complaints are registered either in the areas of the branches or in the headquarters of the department in the case of the nearby areas.

"Other complaints can be referred to the department via the branches or the department center directly. The citizen submits a statement in handwriting to the branch or department concerning the receipt of higher prices from him. If he wants the invoice to accompany him, that would not be a bad idea.

"There are complaints submitted secretly, since the citizen does not see them of his own knowledge. This type of complaint assumes the characteristics of a violation and is dealt with by special means, in addition to telephone complaints to numbers 217150 and 210276. These complaints are reviewed in 24 hours. There is also a person on permanent shift on the phone to reply to complaints and register them. His shift goes from 1400 hours to 0800 hours the following day.

"Every vehicle is equipped with a radio device for the sake of rapid contact among patrols and another device which is connected directly to the director.

### Difficulties

"We suffer from a lack of cooperation with us by the citizens, since it is necessary that they inform us immediately about every complaint or violation which takes place in their regard. We hope that citizens will cooperate with us. Every complaint is dealt with immediately, whatever it might be, after it is registered in the complaint ledger in the branch or department. There also are complaints in the rural areas which cause us problems; if such complaints exist we try to seek the aid of the local people to ascertain the truth.

### Total Cooperation with the Party Branches

"We cooperate totally with the party branches. The supply patrols pass through the party branches in a continuous everyday manner. We have issued an order that it is permissible to appoint a bread commissioner to an area only following the agreement of the party branch along with a handwritten letter addressed to the supply director specifically. After that, we officially approve him. The commissioner is the responsibility of the party branches, and we exchange views with them, if only once a week."

### Arrests in the First Half of the Month

The arrests arranged in the first half of the month were about 190, broken down as follows:

In the most recent period, emphasis was placed on nearby areas by means of supply campaigns. For example, 38 arrests were arranged in al-Sayyidah Zaynab on just 1 day, along with 46 arrests in Jarmana, the villages of al-Ghawtah, the al-Yarmuk camp and al-Hajar al-Aswad.

11887

### Status of Cotton Crop Reviewed

44040030a Damascus *TISHRIN* in Arabic  
23 Oct 87 p 2

[Text] The activities of early cotton crop picking on the fields that have been planted are continuing in the Governorate of al-Hasakah and the cotton marketing teams, a total of 13 processed cotton and four raw cotton marketing teams, have embarked on their activities in the other production sites. The quantities marketed have come to 7,598 tons, while the quantities of cotton picked have come to 12,570 tons.

The reports presented at the meeting of the cotton marketing committee in the governorate, which was held yesterday under the chairmanship of Mr Muhammad Mustafa Miru, governor of al-Hasakah, stated that the marketing activities are proceeding in a good, regular manner.

The marketing committee, during the meeting, also discussed issues related to marketing activities and means to guarantee the realization of the plan approved, which includes the marketing of 115,000 tons this season. In the light of the discussion, it decided to request the general cotton ginning and marketing organization to hasten disbursement of the price of the crop marketed to the brother peasants and producers, compensate the people damaged by cotton cultivation as a consequence of rains and form a technical committee to discover Ghawtah 82 class corn fields to confirm that they are not fit for cultivation in concentrated form. A recommendation was also submitted to deal with corn crop producers as grain producers as far as burlap bags go.

11887

### UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Commercial Ties With Egypt Improving  
44000012 Dubai *KHALEEJ TIMES* in English  
14 Nov 87 p 15

[Article by K.P. Nayar: "UAE-Egypt Trade Ties Warming Up"]

[Text] The resumption of diplomatic relations between the UAE and Egypt is to be followed by a blitz to improve economic ties.

Dubai Chamber of Commerce President Saeed Juma Al Nabooda will leave for Cairo on December 10 at the head of a delegation that will examine in detail the opportunities for improving cooperation in trade, industry and investment between the two sides.

The composition of Dubai's mission has not yet been finalised, but it is expected to have at least seven members—all of them leaders of Dubai's business community—who are in a position to contribute to a new phase in UAE-Egyptian economic relations in the climate of improved political contacts.

Egypt's consul-general in Dubai, Mohammed Gammal El Migy, expressed hopes that the delegation's visit would give an impetus to economic links. "Not that they were affected by the break in diplomatic relations. But we have high hopes about the outcome of the delegation's visit at this time."

As part of the new economic blitz, Egypt hopes to establish a Trade Centre in Abu Dhabi in a few months and later a similar one in Dubai. Mustafa Hamdi, head of the commercial section of the Egyptian embassy in Abu Dhabi, said the Centre will display all major industrial products manufactured in Egypt.

The proposal for Trade Centres in Abu Dhabi and Dubai was made during the visit of a commercial delegation from Egypt more than a year ago, but it has remained on the drawing board because of lack of political support for the idea.

What the Egyptians are interested in, more than trade, is in attracting investment from this country into Egypt. Mr Hamdi hoped there would be a government-to-government agreement on increasing investment soon.

UAE businessmen's interest in investing in Egypt is already reflected in the Dubai chamber mission's itinerary in Cairo which includes meetings with ministers in charge of economy and investment, in addition to the Prime Minister.

Egypt's exports to the UAE through Dubai during the first half of this year amounted to Dh5.56 million, with more than 60 percent of these exports made up of foodstuffs and live animals.

Despite the efforts of a representative office of an Egyptian public sector company in Dubai—which doubles as a Trade Centre—imports from Egypt into the emirate have been declining. During the first half of this year, they were down by Dh1.56 million.

Meanwhile, speculation continues in diplomatic circles about the possibility of a massive aid package from the Gulf—said to be about \$20 billion—which will help Egypt to tide over its serious financial crisis.

Egypt's foreign debt is about \$40 billion and recent economic difficulties have been serious enough to initiate talks, among others, with Kuwait's Central Bank Governor Shaikh Salem Abdul Azia Al Sabah on an AGCC aid package, diplomatic sources said.

Following the Arab League's decision in 1979 to isolate Egypt for signing a separate peace treaty with Israel, the Arab Monetary Fund (AMF) suspended Egypt's membership, denying it access to AMF's balance of payments support on easy terms.

Arab development funds also simultaneously suspended aid resulting in a vacuum that was only partly filled by Western, largely U.S. agencies.

At the time of the break, the Gulf Organisation for Development of Egypt (Gode) had about \$2 billion in demand deposits with the country's central bank. There were also other smaller Arab institutional depositors.

None of this money was withdrawn and it remains to be seen how these funds will now be utilised with the revival of Arab interest in the economic development of Egypt.

Middle Eastern bankers said the coming weeks will see a revival of Arab focus on the Egyptian economy even as they are preparing for an increase in activity both in Cairo and the Gulf.

/09599

## BANGLADESH

### Reportage on Ershad Attendance at Vancouver Parley

**14 Oct Speech to Businessmen**  
46001092 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English  
15 Oct 87 pp 1, 8

[Text] Vancouver, Oct 14 (BSS): President Hussain Muhammad Ershad has said the process of privatisation was initiated and executed through both disinvestment and fresh investment by private entrepreneurs.

He said, since 1982, the process of privatisation has been significantly accelerated under the new industrial policy which provided a pointer not to allow any further expansion of public sector's role.

The President was addressing the Canadian business leaders at a luncheon meeting held at the Pan Pacific hotel here yesterday afternoon.

Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Ministry of Industry Moudud Ahmed and Foreign Minister Humayun Rasheed Chowdhury who accompanied the President to the Commonwealth summit were present.

President Ershad mentioned about the 1986 liberalised industrial policy under which much of the government's regulatory and controlling functions over private investments have been done away with and said, 'today the Government's role in industrialisation is entirely promotional'.

He said the private entrepreneurs with own resources could now go for investment of any size in industries except a few. At the same time, we had been maintaining a consistent policy of encouraging foreign private investments.

The President spoke of the wide-ranging economic and administrative reforms introduced by his government which had generated a socio-political stability in the country essential for industrial development and said recently we have undertaken to sell through public offers part of shares of enterprises that had been under management of various public sector corporations while reserving some shares for workers of the concerned enterprises.

President Ershad in this context informed the meeting that the allocation for private sector investment in country's current Third Five-Year Plan is about US dollars 1,067 million representing an increase of 256 percent of what was achieved in the previous five-year plan. He said, however, for achieving the target, we needed private capital from abroad.

He observed that foreign investors could provide stimuli for energizing domestic resources of a developing country producing multiplier effect on their economic activities. There were convenient conduits for transfer of technology and better management standards he pointed out.

The President said at present nearly one hundred foreign companies including 20 transnationals were operating in Bangladesh with their local counterparts. In recognition of the significant role it plays in Bangladesh's industrialisation process we welcome foreign investment on mutually beneficial terms and conditions for industries, high technology products that will be primarily export-oriented or efficient port substitute and undertakings in which more diversified use of natural resources can be made, he said.

President Ershad said in our relentless efforts to come out of the morass of poverty and improve the quality of life of our people we needed continued and generous support from abroad in public as well as in private sector. He said we required an additional capital of U.S. dollars 100 million for each of the next three years for private investment to achieve modest industrial progress envisioned for the current development plan period.

He mentioned about the phenomenal growth of garment industry in Bangladesh over the last five years supported by sizable foreign investment to the benefit of both foreign and local investors and expressed his firm conviction that industries using natural gas as feed stock have similar potential.

The President in this connection said Bangladesh had an estimated reserve of 12 trillion cubic feet of natural gas of very high quality and other natural resources like peat, high quality bituminous coal of estimated reserve of 100 million tons in Baropukria in Dinajpur alone and hard rocks, which could be commercially exploited.

President Ershad also spoke of country's vast cheap labour force and population over 100 million providing a big domestic market potential and said in order to facilitate foreign investments, the government had provided very attractive facilities through acts and orders guaranteeing fair and equitable treatment to foreign investors and protection against expropriation or nationalisation.

He said Bangladesh entered into arrangements with several countries including US for promoting and protecting investment. He said besides large package of fiscal incentives to foreign investment the approval procedure had been drastically simplified and he himself headed two such one window committees, one for projects in the export processing zone and the other for projects outside the zone.

The President said to expand the base and scope of foreign investments in Bangladesh another export processing zone beside the one in Chittagong was proposed to be set up near the international airport of the capital city.

President Ershad invited the Canadian investors to come over to Bangladesh to see for themselves the opportunities and facilities available for the entrepreneurs from abroad.

"We need your cooperation to generate more employment opportunities for our people," he said.

Speaking on the occasion, Canadian Foreign Minister Charles Joseph Clark recalled his last visit to Bangladesh and said during his stay there he got the chance to see some industrial activities and various development projects being implemented in Bangladesh.

Mr Clark said he was very much impressed to see the sincere and personal initiatives and interests of President Ershad for achieving welfare of his people. In this context he spoke about the clear perception of Bangladesh President about the programmes of his government aimed at improving the lot of the people.

The Canadian Foreign Minister referred to the already existing close economic cooperation between Bangladesh and his country and urged the Canadian investors to take a deep look at the concessions and facilities being provided by Bangladesh for foreign entrepreneurs and avail the opportunity.

He said Canada was very keen to see that Bangladesh achieve development in all spheres of its national life. He assured that the Government of Canada would continue its endeavors for enlarging economic cooperation between the two countries.

### 15 Oct Executive Session

46001092 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* in English 16 Oct 87 pp 1, 12

[Text] Vancouver, Oct 15: President Hussain Muhammad Ershad has called for defeating the forces of protectionism and eliminating tariff and non-tariff barriers and promoting freer international trade, reports BSS.

The President made the call while participating in the discussion on economic issues in the yesterday afternoon executive session on the second day of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting now being held here.

He said that it was time for the Commonwealth to draw up a special programme for assistance to the Least Developed Countries of the Commonwealth. He also expressed his feeling that Commonwealth should play a

useful role in affording greater opportunities to the Least Developed Countries to develop their economies and increase their export potentials.

President Ershad said out of the 40 LDCs, 12 are members of Commonwealth and they are heavily dependent on primary commodities. In this context, he pointed out that as a result of unabated fall in commodity prices of primary products since 1980, the foreign exchange earnings of the LDCs have been adversely affected.

The President said diversification of exports by the LDCs through promotion of non-traditional items had assumed utmost significance and that is again being handicapped for a number of factors which included protectionist measures as applied in major export markets.

He said the long-term solution to the deteriorating economic situation in the LDCs required sustained economic growth. Given the weaknesses in their resources endowment, some of the LDCs have tried to achieve breakthrough in their economy through production and export of one or a few manufactured goods.

Speaking about the primary and agriculture commodities and the growing problems posed to them, the President said the agricultural raw materials like cotton, rubber, jute and sisals account for about 8.5 percent of the world's agriculture exports.

President Ershad said the increasing takeover by synthetics and substitutes of the markets of natural products was a cause for serious concern for the developing countries. He said in the context of competition between agricultural raw materials and synthetic products during the sixties and early seventies, the agricultural raw materials had derived only very limited benefits from the steep rise in costs of energy and petrochemicals.

Later, in the evening, the President and Begum Raushan Ershad attended a dinner hosted by Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in honour of the heads of delegation attending the summit and their spouses at the Pan Pacific Hotel.

President Ershad and other heads of delegation to the CHOGM will go on a retreat to Lake Okanagan resort tomorrow. They will return here Friday afternoon.

### 16 Oct Executive Session

46001092 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English 17 Oct 87 pp 1, 8

[Text] Vancouver, Oct 16 (BSS): Bangladesh has made a proposal to the Commonwealth to undertake a comprehensive study on the causes and ecological destruction potentials of natural disasters like drought, floods, cyclone, hurricane, volcanic eruption and earthquake.

President Hussain Muhammad Ershad made the proposal in the executive session yesterday morning on the third day of the five day long ninth Commonwealth heads of government meetings (CHOGM) now being held in the beautiful Pacific coast Canadian city.

In this context, he referred to the excellent comprehensive study made by the commonwealth on various aspects of problems of drought and desertification in sub-Sahara not only in its immediate setting but also in relation to the growing emphasis on ecological and environmental conservation problems which might cause such natural disaster.

The President referred to the devastating floods in Bangladesh this year and said it has become almost an annual affair there causing heavy losses of resources. In this connection, he also referred to the drought and floods in India and said as a result of such natural calamities capital assets are lost and enormous post disaster rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts involving huge investment required.

President Ershad expressed his gratitude to the international community for their generous assistance to Bangladesh in its relief and rehabilitation efforts during the unprecedented floods this year.

He said while relief and rehabilitation for the affected people are essential, measures to be undertaken to reduce the sufferings and to help people resume their normal life, the fundamental causes of the disaster—their identification and the possible measures towards their solution, need to be addressed on an emergency basis.

The President urged the Commonwealth to undertake a coordination exercise with countries of the world faced with similar threats with the objectives of transfer of technology and tapping of financial resources to meet this threat which could affect millions of lives on this planet.

After the executive session, President Ershad and other heads of state and government attending the five-day long summit went on a retreat to the Lake Okanagan resort. During the retreat, the commonwealth leaders are expected to have informational discussions among themselves on various issues facing the Commonwealth and the world at large.

#### 18 Oct Executive Session

46001092 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* in English 19 Oct 87 p 1

[Text] Vancouver, Oct 18: President Hussain Muhammad Ershad has suggested that the commonwealth Secretariat should coordinate with the SAARC Secretariat for evolving a common strategy for combating drug trafficking and its abuses, reports BSS.

Participating in the deliberations of the closing Executive session of the current Commonwealth heads of government meeting (CHOGM) yesterday morning, the President said it would be easier to evolve such common strategy in view of the fact that the second SAARC summit at Bangalore had approved a strategy for member states for combating this menace.

He apprised the commonwealth leaders of the steps taken by the government of Bangladesh against drug trafficking and their abuses in the country. In this context, he mentioned the formation of a National Committee of which the chief patron is the First Lady.

President Ershad also led the discussions on Cyprus highlighting the OIC stand on the issue.

President Hussain Muhammad Ershad here yesterday urged the Bangladeshis living abroad to help in the industrialisation of their motherland.

Addressing the Bangladeshis living in British Columbia province of Canada at the Westine Bayshore Hotel, the President said as a result of the relentless efforts of the last six years, a congenial investment climate has been created in the country.

He said the industrial policy announced by the government has provided all possible facilities and opportunities to investors willing to set up industries in Bangladesh except in seven reserved sectors.

President Ershad expressed his firm belief that measures taken by the government to attract foreign investment in setting up industries would be able to achieve the objective. He advised the Bangladeshis living abroad to encourage the foreign investors to come forward to set up industries in the country for creating more employment opportunities.

The President said industrialisation has become a necessity in Bangladesh as natural calamities like floods have become a common phenomenon taking toll in the country's agricultural sector. "We want to stand on our own feet" he said adding: "our discussions with the Canadian investors during a meeting with them is very encouraging".

He said during the last six years, the country had witnessed considerable advancement in its socio-economic and political fields. "Our achievements have not only received commendations at home but also from abroad", he pointed out and said as a result of this, the prestige and honour of the country have been enhanced.

**Foreign Office Briefing**

46001092 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* in English 23 Oct 87 pp 1, 12

[Text] The just concluded five-day long ninth Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Vancouver expressed deep concern over the deteriorating global political and economic situation and the Commonwealth leaders stressed the need for peace and stability in all regions.

Briefing newsmen at the Foreign Office on the outcome of the Vancouver Conference on Thursday Foreign Minister Humayun Rasheed Chowdhury said that the free and frank deliberations by the Commonwealth leaders forged a greater understanding in the Commonwealth family. He informed that as an active member of the Commonwealth, Bangladesh played a very positive role at the conference.

President H.M. Ershad who attended the conference proposed for a comprehensive study by the Commonwealth to combat the natural disasters in the Commonwealth member countries. He narrated the experience now being faced by Bangladesh following the recent devastating flood.

The Foreign Minister claimed that the proposal of President Ershad received due attention by the Commonwealth leaders. He added that President Ershad had also focused the economic problems now confronting the least developed countries.

The communique of the Vancouver conference, he said, included issues like disarmament, Iran-Iraq war, international terrorism, Afghanistan, Central Africa, Cyprus and South Asia. The economic situation now prevailing in the world figured prominently in the discussions by the Commonwealth leaders.

The Foreign Minister also informed newsmen about the bilateral discussions President Ershad had with his Commonwealth counterparts during the conference. The talks were very fruitful and successful, the Foreign Minister claimed.

Replying to a question the Foreign Minister said that there was no formal proposal for Pakistan's re-entry in the Commonwealth which she left objecting Bangladesh's membership. He avoided a direct reply when asked whether there was any observer from Pakistan at the Commonwealth conference.

/9738

**Envoy to Australia**

46001096b Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* in English 18 Oct 87 p 8

[Text] The Government had decided to appoint Air Vice-Marshal (Retd) Sultan Mahmud as High Commissioner of Bangladesh to Australia, reports BSS.

His appointment was announced by Foreign Office on October 15, according to a Press release in Dhaka on Saturday, reports BSS.

/9738

**Education Minister on Results of Pakistan Visit**

46001089 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* in English 18 Oct 87 p 3

[Text] Education Minister Mahbubur Rahman returned home on Friday concluding a six-day visit to Pakistan which he described as "fruitful".

Talking to BSS he said a Pakistan cultural troupe was likely to visit Dhaka next month.

Mr Mahbub said he had "fruitful talks" with the Pakistan leaders he met during his visit and pointed out that he carried back a letter from President Ziaul Huq for President Ershad. President Ershad's letter to him (Zia) which he had handed over to the Pakistan President.

Besides President Zia, the Education Minister also had meetings with Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Wattu, Education Minister Syed Sajjad Haider, and Governor and Chief Minister of Sind Province.

Mr Mahbub said the Pakistani leaders, held President Ershad and his government in high esteem and they were keen to help Bangladesh in every possible manner as and when and whatever way sought for.

He said the Pakistani leaders expressed their deep sympathy for the flood hit people of Bangladesh and providing them with 50,000 tons of foodgrains and 1,600 tons of wheat seeds.

The first consignment of 800 tons of wheat seeds, he said, would be sailing from Karachi in a couple of days while the second consignment was expected to reach Bangladesh before November 15.

Mr Mahbub said during the meeting with his Pakistan counterpart the two sides agreed to increase exchange of visits of teachers, journalists, parliamentary delegation and cultural troupes between the two countries.

He said in response to a request made by him the Pakistan side agreed to increase its number of scholarship for the Bangladesh students.

The Education Minister said both Bangladesh and Pakistan agreed to take necessary steps expeditiously for the implementation of the decisions taken in the Bangladesh-Pakistan joint economic commission meeting held in Dhaka in April last.

The two sides, he added, also agreed to increase the volume of trade between the two countries.

He expressed the hope that his visit would help increase greater cooperation between the two countries in various fields in the years to come.

/9738

**Panel Reports Treatment of Bangladeshis Abroad**  
46001090 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* in English 22 Oct 87 pp 1, 8

[Text] A large number of Bangladeshis both men and women are now languishing in jails in different countries. The number of such people has been estimated at 10,000 according to an investigation in Bangladesh Human Rights Commission.

Many of them fell victims in the hands of manpower racketeers who sent them to different countries without proper travel documents. They were allured to the middle eastern jobs unscrupulous traders but landed in jails in foreign soils for no fault of theirs.

Bangladesh Human Rights Commission on Wednesday demanded amendment to the prevailing rules for award of rigorous punishment for those involved in smuggling of women. They are now given light punishment of at best jail term for three months and a penalty of Taka 500. Such light punishment has been encouraging the women traffickers, the Human Rights commission said. Women who are smuggled across the borders virtually turn into slaves.

The West Bengal police in India have recently detained at least 100 Bangladeshi women and those involved in the trade. Women who have been smuggled are now passing their days in miseries in different countries particularly West Germany, India, Pakistan, Burma and the Middle East.

It is also alleged that the smuggled women were killed for their kidney and bones, according to Human Rights Commission. Among girls a good number are smuggled to India and Pakistan, it said. The women traffickers when arrested are released within a short time, it said. Even if they are released the girls have to languish in jails, the Human Rights Commission pointed out.

Despite their arrest the trade continues unabated. Expressing grave concern over the smuggling of Bangladeshi girls in an increasing number, the Human Rights Commission also demanded setting up of training and rehabilitation centres in the districts for the distressed girls.

The unscrupulous manpower agents taking advantage of the distressing economic condition can easily allure poor and uneducated rural girls, it observed. Bangladesh police jointly with the Bangladesh Rifles have rescued many girls from the manpower racketeers, it said.

The Commission has recently rescued a girl named Beauty from Comilla jail.

/9738

**New Alliance Formed To Support Government**  
46001088 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* in English 17 Oct 87 pp 1, 8

[Text] A new political alliance styled as "23-party alliance" was floated in Dhaka on Friday with the objective of supporting all development activities of the government for nation's prosperity and well-being of the people, reports BSS.

Announcing the formation of the alliance at a Press conference held at the Jatiya Press Club, Mr A.S.M. Rob, Secretary-General of JSD and leader of JSD Parliamentary Party, said the alliance would play the role of "constructive" opposition in national politics. The new alliance, Rob pointed out, would not only oppose any adventurist move from any quarter, but would also mobilise public opinion against activities detrimental to national interest.

He blamed the political parties including the ruling Jatiya Party for the social instability and frustration prevailing in the country. The alliance was the culmination of prolonged exercise uniting all patriotic forces to assist the government as "partners in progress", he added.

The alliance advanced for introducing positive trend in politics for attaining stability and institutional basis of democracy in the country. It also felt that mid-term election has become a must because of current parliament's becoming dependent on the whims of certain quarters.

Hailing the various programmes of the Government including the decentralization of administration and the formation of the holding company, the alliance suggested to take up long-term and immediate programme for flood control.

Replying to questions, the alliance leaders observed that the 48-hour strike called by SKOP was "undesirable" and termed the strike as "confrontative attitude" which will bring no good to the workers. The proposed strike will go against the interest of the country, the alliance leaders viewed.

As for the next month's siege programme announced by the major opposition alliances, they newly formed 23-party alliance's spokesman Rob said, "we are yet to decide on that. Our discussion is continuing and will let you know later.

The alliance leaders were present on the occasion.

The parties which have formed the alliance are Jatiya Samajtanirk Dal (JSD), Krishak Sramik Party (KSP), Janadhal, Bangladesh Republican Party, Jatiya Nagarik Sanghati, Hindu Oikya Front, Bangladesh Muslim Jatiya Dal, Bangladesh Gano Muslim League, Tanjimul Ulema Party, Gaano Shakti Party, Bangladesh Justice Party, Bangladesh Tapshil Jatiya Federation, National Labour Party, Demoracit Peoples Party, Bangladesh Labour Party, Bangladesh Mojlim Party, Bangladesh Kriakah Praja Partry, Bangladesh voters Mojish. The Ganotantrik Party, Islamic Gaotrik Party, Jatiya Gano Oiky Party, Jatiya Mazdoor Party and Jatiya Awami Dal.

/9738

**Opposition Leader Malek Ukil Dies**  
46001096c Dhaka **THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER**  
in English 18 Oct 87 p 1

[Excerpts] Mr Abdul Malek Ukil, Deputy Leader of the Opposition in the Jatiya Sangsad died in Dhaka at Suhrawardy Hospital at 7:15 a.m. on Saturday after remaining in a coma for the last 50 days. He was 63.

He was admitted to Suhrawardy Hospital following a massive heart attack on August 29 and since then remained in the intensive care unit there in an unconscious state.

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**Food Import Program Revised To Cover Drought Loss**  
46001093 Dhaka **THE NEW NATION** in English  
15 Oct 87 pp 1, 8

[Text] The Government has revised its foodgrains import programme for the current financial year in view of the extensive crop loss caused by the devastating floods.

As per the revised estimate, a total of 38.40 lakh tons of foodgrains will be imported. Five lakh tons will be procured under cash purchase and remaining 33.40 lakh tons will be procured under aid.

The crop loss due to the unprecedented flood has been estimated by the Government at 33.80 lakh tons. However, boro and rabi crops totaling about 15.50 lakh tons are expected under the post flood agriculture rehabilitation programme.

According to an official source, the total rice and wheat shortfall due to the flood will stand at 18.30 lakh tons. The original food import target for the current year was 20.10 lakh tons envisaging a total production of 175 lakh tons.

Presently, the country has a reserve of nine lakh tons of foodgrains and the government is making an all-out effort to procure more foods from external sources in order to tide over any emergency situation.

Food Ministry sources told this Correspondent yesterday that the government was also gearing up the internal procurement drive and that it has already been decided to procure 1.2 lakh tons of aman beginning next month. Besides, two lakh tons of wheat will be procured from January to March next, the sources said.

The Government has already made cash purchase of foodgrains worth Taka 225 crore and is trying to contact the donors for fresh aid so that it could go for more cash purchase foodgrains. So far, the cash purchase has been made mainly from Bulgaria, the U.S. and the EEC countries.

The U.S. Government has recently committed forty million dollars to Bangladesh for import of foodgrains. On Tuesday, Bangladesh and Bulgaria signed a barter agreement for two lakh tons of wheat. The consignment is expected to reach Bangladesh by December next.

Australia and Canada have also showed green signal for providing one lakh tons of foodgrains to Bangladesh. Besides, France, Yugoslavia and the European Economic Community have also made a commitment to Bangladesh for nearly 1.5 lakh tons of food aid.

Considerable quantum of foodgrains are also now in the pipeline. A Food Ministry official told this correspondent that about eight to ten thousand tons of foodgrains were being released every day for the last one month at the country's sea ports.

In order to strengthen the import programme the Ministry of Commerce issued permits to eighteen private sector firms for import of 72,000 tons of foodgrains. They were allowed to import four thousand tons of grains each. But so far only fifty percent import has been made.

It has been learnt that some firms had already abandoned the idea because they landed in problems owing to margin restrictions and other thought it would not be wise because of shipment problems and the Government itself was heavily engaged in importing foodgrains.

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## INDIA

### Papers Report on Gandhi's North America Trip

#### Interview in Vancouver

46001084 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English  
14 Oct 87 pp 1, 7

[Article by Warren Unna: "India Will Oppose Fiji's Reapplication to Join Commonwealth: Rajiv"]

[Text] Vancouver, Oct 13—Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi considers the recent Governmental coup in Fiji "racial"—designed to suppress ethnic members of the population—and said India will oppose the revolutionary Government's reapplication to join the Commonwealth should it be made.

In an interview with *THE STATESMAN* at a Commonwealth reception last night, India's Prime Minister freely expressed his views on not only Fiji but Southern Africa, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka and Indo-U.S. relations.

His comment on Fiji was critical because, under Commonwealth rules, any reapplication for membership must be unanimous and if India objects, this amounts to a veto. Since Fiji's new revolutionary leader has declared a republic, this would require a reapplication for Commonwealth admission, Mr Gandhi explained.

On South Africa, the Prime Minister said he first would like the Commonwealth to "take stock" of the effect of the economic sanctions it agreed to at its last meeting two years ago in Nassau. After that, and after taking into account the "eminent persons" negative report on South African moves to relieve apartheid, and the tightening of sanctions approved by seven Commonwealth Heads in London last August, Mr Gandhi was prepared to urge the Commonwealth to push for tougher and more comprehensive sanctions during its gathering here this week.

Asked how he intended to "charm" Britain's Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, the leading opponent of Commonwealth sanctions, Mr Gandhi smiled and quipped: "I'll let Brian handle her". He was referring to Canadian Prime Minister, Brian Mulroney, chairman and host of this week's biennial Commonwealth conference.

Asked if he was pessimistic over the outcome of a Sri Lankan resolution, Mr Gandhi replied: "absolutely". He noted that both Sri Lankan President J.R.S. Jayewardene, and he had adhered scrupulously to their July 29 agreement, and that it was only the terrorist Tamil action which constantly had abrogated commitments toward peace.

On the subject of Afghanistan, Mr Gandhi first accused Pakistan of playing dog-in-the-manger and opposing any peace there. Then, when asked why India should not take more of a lead for a resolution, he said, it had, and

would, but his one objection was to any new Afghan Government which would be orthodox and fundamentalist. He also said there has been great difficulty in finding new leadership.

Asked about the advisability of bringing back Afghanistan's long ago deposed King, Mr Gandhi said that "everybody—the Russians, the Americans"—has been making inquiries of him at his place of exile in Rome.

On the subject of his forthcoming trip to Washington, next Monday night, Mr Gandhi was very upbeat. He explained that he had been determined to reverse the souring of Indo-American relations and that specific and very significant steps already had been made. He specifically referred to the transfer in technology, citing not only the recent decision to go ahead with obtaining a U.S. super-computer, but an American engine for India's light combat aircraft and "lots of things we don't talk about". He acknowledged that, when this exercise began, the USA was anxious for India to buy its weapons. He explained that, because of unfortunate experience in the past India was cautious, but that in the future it might first go in for "soft arms" purchases and then, perhaps, proceed to harder weaponry.

India's Prime Minister looked beaming, wide-eyed and incredibly fresh. Asked how he could manage this after not sleeping the preceding night during his long cross-Pacific flight from Tokyo, he said the sleeplessness actually had been for two nights: the one before had been spent in writing speeches.

In another interview during that night's reception by the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Sridath (Sony) Ramphal, British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, was not quite so good-humoured. Asked what Britain's position might be on Fiji, she snapped: "I'm not going to discuss that here". But political instincts apparently got the better of her for, two minutes later, she turned her head back to add: "I mean, not in this room".

Also last night, Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, the grand old man of the Commonwealth and currently president of the Organization of African Unity, was teased about U.S. President Ronald Reagan repudiating U.S. economic sanctions against South Africa not long after Kaunda had visited with him. "The U.S. Congress has passed legislation maintaining the sanctions and that is what is important", Kaunda replied.

#### 13 Oct Vancouver Speech

46001084 New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English  
14 Oct 87 p 1

[Article by Vinod Taksal: "PM Calls for Restoration of Democracy in Fiji"]

[Text] Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi today demanded restoration of democracy, racial harmony and civilian rule in Fiji, and called upon the Commonwealth to forge ahead in taking more and effective measures against South Africa to end apartheid.

"Let this meeting demonstrate that we are a fighting organisation". And "not a seminar for comparing notes on the wonderful variety of English spoken around the globe", the Prime Minister told the commonwealth heads of state and government here this morning.

The Prime Minister's plain speaking, at the glittering inaugural session of the five-day Commonwealth summit in the gorgeous glass-and-steel boat shaped Vancouver Trade and Convention Centre, caused some ripples but reflected the sentiments of a majority of the Asian and African member-states.

Mr Gandhi said the adventurism in Fiji had shocked all by its casual and cavalier repudiation of every democratic value, its blatant enthronement of the discredited doctrine of ethnic divide, and the attempt to rule by fear and not by law. "We demand the restoration of democracy, harmony and civilian rule in Fiji", he said.

In an equally forthright stand on South Africa, Mr Gandhi made it clear that the task before the current summit was to take stock of what has been done, to assess the effects, and determine what more needs to be done. "Nassau set the direction. London set us firmly on the path. Vancouver must carry the process forward", he said.

Mr Gandhi reminded the Commonwealth leaders that at Nassau summit they had agreed upon a minimum programme of measures to curtail economic relations and end all military cooperation with Pretoria. They had also agreed that if no progress resulted, these measures would need to be strengthened.

Following the eminent persons group's graphic and moving report which clearly established that there was no scope for further dialogue, Mr Gandhi recalled the London summit had adopted additional measures. Commonwealth countries were now applying sanctions comprehensively, like India, on a more limited basis.

The Vancouver summit now should show that "our loyalty to principles and to declared objectives is not fickle, that our resolve to end racism in South Africa is not negotiable", the Prime Minister stressed.

Mr Gandhi also briefly touched upon the escalating hostilities in the Gulf, where a chain of action and reaction was drawing outside powers adding dangerous dimensions to the conflict and causing grave concern. He lent India's support to the Security Council and UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar's efforts to bring about a settlement.

The Prime Minister also reviewed the situation in Sri Lanka and said he and President Jayewardene were determined to ensure that the peace agreement signed between them worked. He lauded Mr Jayewardene's 'courage and statesmanship' which helped open the door to peace and ethnic harmony in the island.

In his brief speech, the Prime Minister also hailed as "exciting development" and "good news" that the Soviet Union and the US were close to a treaty to eliminate intermediate-range nuclear forces. He urged President Reagan and Soviet leader Gorbachev to build speedily on what they have begun, and exclaimed peace may break out after all".

Congratulating Mr Mulroney on his election as chairman of the meeting, Mr Gandhi said "in our concerns find an eloquent exponent."

**Vancouver Press Conference**  
46001084 *New Delhi PATRIOT in English*  
19 Oct 87 p 1

[Article by Vinod Taksal: "Operations to Continue Till Arms Surrender: Rajiv"]

[Text] Vancouver, Oct 18—India today made it clear that the current operations by the peace-keeping forces in Jaffna area would not be called off until the LTTE laid down all arms and agreed to work within the framework of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord.

Issuing the warning at a crowded press conference here last night, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi said, "we are willing to take pressure off Jaffna provided they (LTTE) categorically agree to lay down all arms and accept to work within the framework of the accord".

He, however, expressed deep distrust of the LTTE, accusing it of going back on its commitment, "on every single occasion", and said it was difficult to believe them. The Prime Minister recalled that before the Accord was formally concluded, the Government of India had talked to leaders of all Tamil militant organisations, including the LTTE, and noted their viewpoints.

In the agreement, which the Commonwealth leaders here hailed in their final summit communique, as well as later, "we have found solutions almost as they had asked for", Mr Gandhi noted. These included the LTTE's demands on the composition of the provisional executive council for the northern and eastern provinces, but the Tigers' had gone back on their commitment, he asserted.

Mr Gandhi described the summit as "resounding success" and said that on major issues "we have moved ahead from the positions that we had at earlier summits". His view was shared by most other leaders, he added.

The Prime Minister also ruled out any arbitration or military involvement of India in Fiji, where ethnic Indian community forms over 47 percent of the Fijian population.

Answering a question, Mr Gandhi made it clear that it was not India which approached Sri Lanka but President Jayewardene who during a visit to New Delhi in June 1985, asked for India's support and cooperation in finding a peaceful resolution of the four-year ethnic conflict.

Developments in Fiji were fluid and the Indian Government was watching them closely, he said, but, he added nobody from Fiji, including the Col Raabuka Government, had sought India's help in resolving the Fijian issue.

While asserting that the Commonwealth could not agree and did not see any difference between racism in Fiji or elsewhere, Mr Gandhi said Fiji had not yet gone to the extent South Africa had gone, but indicated that it was going in that direction. "We are and we will try and stop that", he declared.

The Prime Minister came down heavily against South Africa and repudiated British Premier Margaret Thatcher's contention that economic measures and sanctions could only damage South Africa economically but not cause uprooting of apartheid.

In the late thirties, opinion within Britain was divided between pacifism of Neville Chamberlain and confrontation of Winston Churchill on the issue of emergence of racism in Europe, Mr Gandhi recalled and said the Commonwealth today stood for following the Churchill line on South Africa.

He also rebutted Mrs Thatcher's description of the African National Congress as a terrorist organisation and said the other 487 Commonwealth countries did not think so and had in Nassau summit resolution asked for lifting the ban on the ANC. Britain was a party to that resolution and also did not till then think the ANC was a terrorist organisation, he observed.

Castigating the British change of attitude and stand now, Mr Gandhi said, "it is very difficult to understand the logic of some countries on this issue". If the ANC was a terrorist organisation, so were the Contras, UNITDA and Mujahideens. "But they are not viewed in the same light because it is no convenient to some of them", he remarked.

When a British correspondent sought to know from Mr Gandhi why did he not, like at Nassau summit two years ago, try to persuade Mrs Thatcher here at Vancouver, the Prime Minister said he had better and more serious things to do.

Britain, he pointed out, did believe in sanctions as such and had imposed them against Poland, Afghanistan, the Soviet Union and even Libya.

The British Premier did not need any evidence to condemn the African National Congress as a terrorist organisation, or see that after 70 years of peaceful struggle, the ANC has taken to arms and violence against South African forces only as a part of means to further the South African liberation struggle.

However, while explaining the 'rule of law' in Britain, Mrs Thatcher said it was the law courts which imprisoned the Sikh terrorist when they were found guilty. "We are anxious to take action, but accusations are not enough. We need evidence to prove charges", she said.

When asked about the possibility of an agreement with the Gorkhaland National Liberation Front, Mr Gandhi said it is on the anvil and is likely to be reached. Talks were going on with the GNLF and a "concrete outcome" was expected to emerge within a few weeks.

Stressing his Government's commitment to peaceful resolution of issues within the constitutional framework of the country and its opposition to terrorism, Mr Gandhi pointed out that the Government had concluded accords with various groups and solved the problems that had been hanging fire for years, including in Assam and Mizoram.

In Mizoram, the State Government was today headed by the Mizo National Front which had taken to arms to pursue its demand for a separate state for over two decades, Mr Gandhi pointed out.

In Punjab too, he said the Centre was willing to hold talks and find out peaceful resolution of the problem. The Government was trying to see that violence in Punjab was abated and the State returned to peace and normalcy.

"We are willing to talk provided the terrorists give up violence and accept the constitutional framework of the country. But there is nobody whom we could talk to and they don't say what they want", Mr Gandhi said.

The Prime Minister affirmed that he had bilateral talks with Canadian Premier Brian Mulroney on the issue of Sikh terrorists based in Canada.

#### 19 Oct UN Speech

46001084 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
20 Oct 87 p 1

[Text] United Nations, Oct 19 (PTI)—The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, one of the six world leaders who have taken the "five-continent" initiative for nuclear disarmament, today pleaded at the United Nations for the dismantling of all nuclear weapons.

"We must remove the threat of thermonuclear war wiping out, in a wink of history, life as we know it from our common planet. All nuclear weapons must be dismantled," he told the 159-nation UN general assembly this morning.

Several heads of government and foreign ministers and diplomats from around the world, head the speech in which Mr Gandhi asked the international community to address itself to safety measures in high-risk industries.

The Bhopal gas disaster and the Chernobyl accident had shown how vulnerable the world was, he pointed out.

Before addressing the UN, he discussed a possible initiative on environmental issues with his counterparts from Norway and Zimbabwe, Mrs Gro Harlem Brundtland and Dr Robert Mugabe respectively. They met for over 30 minutes at the UN headquarters and asked their ambassadors here to work out details in this regard.

The Prime Ministers made an overnight stop here on his way from Vancouver to Washington for the UN address. The general assembly is discussing the issue of environment after Mrs Brundtland presented the report of a UN commission on the subject headed by her.

Conservation of the world's environment, he said, required concerted international action to reduce disparities between countries. "The compulsions of development and limitations of financial resources tempt many developing countries to exploit their natural resources beyond endurance, ignoring environmental safeguards," he pointed out.

He said that a world economic system which denied itself the benefits of interdependence was "both unjust and inefficient."

Growth in the developing countries was hampered by protectionism, by the deteriorating real terms of trade, by unfavourable conditions for the transfer of technology and by the curtailment of the flow of development assistance, he added.

"Programmes of conservation must, therefore, address themselves to inquiries in the international economic order. For example, a lions share of natural resources has been pre-empted by a few countries," he said.

Mr Gandhi said an average citizen of an industrialised country consumed ten times more fossil fuels and minerals than his counter part in the developing world.

However, the Prime Minister said, all other environmental dangers paled in comparison to the ever accumulating stockpiles of nuclear weapons.

Calling for safety measures in high-risk industries, he said it was incumbent on such industries to ensure the utmost vigilance in design, operations and maintenance. So that valuable lives need not be lost.

He said the world must recognize that environmental issues were closely linked to the larger issues of peaceful co-existence and international co-operation, disarmament and development.

Mr Gandhi said: "Environment is an international issue to be placed in the context of international co-operation, to be pursued through international institutions, to be linked to all aspects of international relations."

Conservation, he pointed out, was each nation's task. "But a task can be accomplished only in the setting of a co-operative world order."

#### National Context

Speaking about the problem in relation to India, he said that new mechanisms to control pollution and check the deterioration of the environment were being developed in their country. "We assess the environmental impact of development work so as to harmonise development with the environment."

India was trying to integrate environmental issues into its design of development. "There are no easy or ready-made answers. In principle, we would wish to give equal priority to development and conservation. In practice, there are major gaps in knowledge, many intangibles and unknown quantities. Experts disagree and assessments vary," he said.

Mr Gandhi said the environment everywhere was jeopardised by the noxious fumes and wastes of industrial pollution.

"There is no political boundary which delimits the spread of poisonous gases, no line on a map which radiation cannot cross, no national frontier at which effluents can be turned back. All those affected by such trans-national consequences of environmental damage must have an equal say in the resolution of the problems," he said.

**Harvard Questions, Answers**  
46001084 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English  
20 Oct 87 p 1

[Text] Boston, Oct 19—On the eve of his meeting with the U.S. President, Mr Ronald Reagan, Mr Rajiv Gandhi has stressed that the United States obtain "substantial clarifications" on Pakistan's nuclear programme before resuming its suspended \$4 billion aid programme to Islamabad, reports UNI.

Mr Gandhi, who was answering a scholar after delivering the prestigious "Jodidi Lecture" at Harvard University in Boston, Massachusetts, last evening, cautioned the Reagan Administration against Pakistan's attempts at an "eye-wash".

The Prime Minister, who is visiting the USA on his way back from the Commonwealth summit in Vancouver, Canada, said he was glad about the U.S. Congress' decision to suspend the said.

Mr Gandhi, who lectured on "India and democracy", answered several questions, one of them with a blistering attack on the "fragmented" Opposition.

On Indo-U.S. relations, he said: "We have a problem because of the U.S. policy towards Pakistan mainly on account of the latter's nuclear programme". He said India was also concerned about narcotic drugs being smuggled into its territory from Pakistan which "we are trying to stop. We feel U.S. pressure could help".

Asked about the developments in Sri Lanka, Mr Gandhi said it was not a fight between Tamils and Sinhalese now. The situation that had developed of late in the Jaffna area was that militant groups were out to kill each other, he said.

"This will not be allowed", the Prime Minister said, adding, "We have certain rules and discipline in democracy". Mr Gandhi regretted that the Tamil militants were saying one thing and doing another.

Attacking India's "fragmented" Opposition, Mr Gandhi charged it with lacking in both policy and programme which "bodes ill for democracy".

Mr Gandhi said a united Opposition would offer an opportunity to the Government to discuss policy matters hitherto exclusively the concern of the Congress (I).

Whenever the Government invited the Opposition leaders for discussions on vital national issues, they preferred to hear the official viewpoint instead of volunteering suggestions, Mr Gandhi said.

### **'No Programme'**

He said they had no policy or programme and that they "shift from one convenience to another, which is weakening democracy". The Prime Minister said the Opposition was mainly concerned with what could be "sold" to the people to get their votes in the elections.

He said some kind of competition in populism was on. "One party comes up and says we will write off loans", he remarked in an obvious reference to the election manifesto of the victorious Lok Dal (B) led by Mr Devi Lal in the recent Haryana elections.

One of the questioners wondered about the representative character of the ruling party since no organizational elections have been held for the past 15 years. Mr Gandhi in reply referred to the last elections to the Lok Sabha which gave an overwhelming majority to his party.

"When people give 80 percent of the votes to us, we do represent people", he asserted. Mr Gandhi said organizational elections had not been held because of procedural difficulties. The Congress (I), he said, had undergone two major splits in recent times during which the electoral rolls were "messed up". He said these documents were now being prepared afresh and party elections would be ordered this year-end or early next year.

Referring to Punjab, Mr Rajiv Gandhi said his Government has laid down two specific conditions—elimination of violence and restoration of democracy—for a political dialogue to restore peace and stability. He said: "We must rally the people against the exploitation of religion for political ends".

Mr Gandhi said the major political task was to isolate the terrorists and separatists from the main body of public opinion. The Punjab accord of July 1985 was a conscious effort in this direction.

Mr Gandhi said the recent rise of fundamentalism—Hindu, Muslim Sikh—remained a challenge to the basic tenets of Indian nationalism. "We have to fight many more battles before the political use of religion is overcome," he added.

"Electoral dynamics seem to have given a new lease to parochialism of religion, caste and language. In the competition for votes, group loyalties are invoked which stress, even encourage, ideas of differentiation.

### **Speech to Foreign Policy Association 46001084 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21 Oct 87 p 1**

[Text] New York, Oct 20 (UNI)—The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, has accused Pakistan of making "furtive, clandestine and determined" attempts to acquire nuclear weapons and said its "drive must be halted".

"We need from Pakistan a demonstrable, proven commitment to abjure nuclear weapons," Mr Gandhi said yesterday at a luncheon given by Foreign Policy Association, a private American group.

"Instead, we see Pakistan engaged in a furtive, clandestine and determined effort to acquire nuclear weapons by any and every means," Mr Gandhi said.

The remarks came on the eve of the Indian leader's meetings with the US President, Mr Ronald Reagan, who has been pressing for a bilateral arrangement banning nuclear weapons in India and Pakistan.

Mr Gandhi pointed out that "twice on the soil of America, Pakistan's agents have been caught red-handed," and added that "its drive to acquire nuclear weapons must be halted."

Mr Gandhi also criticised Pakistan for dragging the subcontinent into rivalries to which "we are not a party" but which make "us a potential battleground for the quarrels of others."

"There is the imminent, growing danger of nuclear proliferation in our neighbourhood," Mr Gandhi told the association, a private group educating Americans about foreign affairs.

Turning to the Punjab situation, Mr Gandhi said, terrorism which has "temporarily" derailed democratic processes in Punjab, is being smashed.

As the Prime Minister spoke, a crowd of Sikh demonstrators on the street outside chanted pro-Khalistan slogans.

Mr Gandhi said: "We are making headway against the terrorists. It is an arduous struggle with many reverses, disheartening setbacks. Yet the direction is clear. Terrorism is being smashed. Normalcy is being restored."

"Our expectations are not misplaced," Mr Gandhi said, adding that his government had already achieved conciliation in some situations that were once considered intractable. He cited Assam and Mizoram as examples.

"In Assam, the student agitators of yesterday have, through the ballot box, become the ruling party in the state. In Mizoram, 20 years of insurgency have given way to a much desired peace and a much cherished democracy."

"By and large, our people have remained profoundly secular," Mr Gandhi added.

Mr Gandhi welcomed the Soviet-American agreement on dismantling short range and medium range missiles, but reminded his audience that "three other nuclear weapon powers still remain outside the disarmament process."

On India's ties with the superpowers, the Prime Minister said India had built friendship with the United States and the Soviet Union.

Mr Gandhi said the U.S. was the "only democracy comparable to us in size and reach." He said India had received American help in its green revolution, high-technology and investment areas.

The Soviet Union, he said, was a "tried and tested friend which has always been with us in moments of crisis."

On the domestic front, Mr Gandhi credited his government with giving stability to the country and made a dig at his opposition. "The stability we have given to the country has enabled the institutions of democracy to resume fractious ways."

"The press is, as it should be, a stern taskmaster. The opposition in Parliament picks its cue from the press and in a curious reversal of roles, reports to Parliament what the press has to say."

He said his party had suffered reverses, in some state elections but its candidates had won in by-elections. "The presidential election saw our candidate win."

"Opinion polls cause more discomfiture to our opponents than to us. Our dissenters have their dreams and our soothsayers their nostrums."

"India," he said, "is on the right track. I sense this as I move around the country. There are signs of progress everywhere. There are reminders too of how much remains to be done."

PTI adds: He described India's relationship with Pakistan as "the most difficult and complex" of the ties in the region but added: "Despite the grave problems that have bedeviled our relations the goodwill and affection which our people have for each other is really quite extraordinary."

Mr Gandhi also referred to the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement, describing it as a "path-breaking demonstration of bilateral cooperation for the restoration of peace, the promotion of ethnic harmony, and the preservation of the unity of one of our closest neighbours." The agreement reinforced non-alignment and the security of the region.

The region, he said, was not tranquil. "Parts of our region are being drawn into rivalry of others, and there is the imminent, growing danger of nuclear proliferation in our neighborhood," he added.

**Speech to Overseas Indians**  
46001084 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
21 Oct 87 p 9

[Text] Washington, Oct 20 (PTI)—The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, has said that there will be no going on the liberalisation process of the Indian economy.

Mr Gandhi told a jam-packed gathering of Indians from different parts of the United States yesterday, he said he was very confident that he would now be able to concentrate on rejuvenating the economy and continuing the process of liberalisation which had been started.

Because of the foreign exchange problems, particularly with regard to the yen, there were some temporary snags but these difficulties were being left behind now so that the process begun in 1985 would continue.

"We are very clear in our minds," said Mr Gandhi, "that there is no going back. The high rates of growth we have seen are because of that process we started."

Mr Gandhi said he had no doubt that "India today is not only strong but its voice is also very authoritative in world forums. India is moving very positively and constructively in the right direction. We have made our place already in the world. We will strengthen that and more to higher levels."

Earlier upon his arrival at the venue, Mr Gandhi was mobbed by enthusiastic crowds. But, despite the crush, he managed to move through the human wall, shake hands, greet people and even to chat with individual members for quite some time before going to the podium to exchange Divali greetings and give his speech.

He had just completed preliminary talks soon after his arrival at the airport with the acting secretary of state, Mr John Whitehead, and President Reagan's national security adviser, Mr Carlucci.

Mr Gandhi asked the Indian community in the U.S. to be "active in a positive way" and to project India in the right manner.

But to do that, the community must know what India stood for, what India was trying to do, what it was trying to achieve, and the various global equations, whether economic, political or military, he said.

It was very important, especially today, because there was a new awakening in the U.S., the Soviet Union, Europe and other industrial countries, he said.

These countries were coming round to accept, for the first time, "what we have been saying for a long time, and, in many cases, moving much farther, even to some extent going along with idea like non-violence and non-alignment," he added.

Analysing the situation in the country, he said Punjab was still a "bit of a problem" but the problems had been overcome in Mizoram, Assam and Jammu and Kashmir. Now those government were facing the "problems" of a democratic set-up.

He said he was confident that in a few weeks or perhaps a few months the "problem" in Darjeeling would also be sorted out.

He described the policy of his government as one of reconciliation—"bringing people into the mainstream and getting the country moving."

He said it was a great pity that after signing the agreement with Sri Lanka, where "every single aspiration, every single demand that the Tamils had made and even more had been met, the LTTE went back on its agreement."

Before signing the accord, all the groups, after more than three hours of talks, had given their assent. Only the LTTE had gone back on the terms that were accepted. Perhaps the LTTE was not getting political support for the new system and there were more difficulties than it had anticipated, Mr Gandhi said.

"We hope they will still come round and there will be a minimum of bloodshed, perhaps no bloodshed."

Mr Gandhi said India, despite the drought it was facing, had still managed to get by with its own resources. This contrasted with similar situations 20 years ago when a less severe drought had driven India into importing part of its food needs.

Today India was able to feed itself. There was no shortage of food. There was some imbalance—there was enough wheat but not so much rice—but the problem was not so severe.

The drought would cost India approximately 2.6 billion dollars and it was going to be a quite heavy burden, he said.

On the other hand, on the industrial side, India had done fairly well. India's overall industrial growth had been 8.7 percent last year. The average for three years was 8.6 percent. It was a very good growth rate, no matter with whose performance it was compared.

That did not mean that everything was working precisely as the government liked. "We have our quantities of red tape entangling us, getting us into problems which we are trying to clear up." But India was very definitely moving ahead, and moving ahead very fast.

UNI adds: Mr Gandhi made an indirect reference to the "Indian Express" when he said that a "free press in India was one pitfall of a democratic system."

He said the press in India was freer than that in the United States. But he regretted that the "build-up of newspapers today was illusionary."

They picked up what the opposition had to say, the Prime Minister said, clarifying the recent raids on the paper's premises.

He added, however, that "we have accepted the challenge and will continue to hold out for the truth."

He remarked in a lighter vein that "we cannot do much because our libel laws are not so good as in the United States."

**News Conference on Aircraft**  
46001084 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
23 Oct 87 p 8

[Text] During a question-and-answer session with correspondents, on board the Air India plane on the return journey from Washington on October 21 night, the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, gave his assessment of the U.S. attitude towards India and dealt with related matters, apart from issues such as Sino-Indian relations, Sri Lanka and Punjab.

His responses:

Question: On the nuclear programme of Pakistan, was there a mere restatement of the positions by the two sides or a narrowing of the gap between the positions of India and the U.S.? And do you find a reason to put greater faith in the U.S. assurance that the aid to Pakistan was not directed against India?

Answer: I think there is a difference in the outlook of the U.S. They are, perhaps for the first time, realising the gravity of the situation and, I believe, they will act in a proper manner. They are worried. I believe they are also seeing a more positive role for India than they have seen in the past for the region specially.

Q: Would you like to comment on your talks with the U.S. Vice President, Mr Bush, who assured you that there was no CIA involvement in India? How much faith can India repose on such an assurance?

A: It is very difficult to say, but I would accept the Vice President's word for it until we get some specific indication to the contrary which we could then take up with them.

**First time**

Q: Will you say that it was for the first time that an American leader of that high level was on record that there was no CIA involvement?

A: I believe so. At least to my knowledge.

Q: But Henry Kissinger said the same thing?

A: (Laughs). But the Vice President is higher up.

Q: The U.S. said it would help us fight drought in India. Did you discuss how? Is it specific?

A: They have given us certain help. It is specific but we are not telling you because it may affect the market.

Q: Do we need any help for good or for bad?

A: We have not asked for help from anybody because we think we can handle it. We have enough resources and resilience. It is not a problem. But when people have

offered to help we have not refused. For instance Japan has given us \$200 millions for vegetable oil. We have accepted that. The U.S. has also helped us in some areas.

Q: It is in the form of credit or...?

A: Well, it is a mixed thing.

Q: Do you think American influence will work on Pakistan or will Pakistan go nuclear?

A: I am clear on one thing. If the U.S. really exerts pressure, I have no doubt that Pakistan will change its attitude towards the nuclear weapons programme.

Q: But they did not succeed in the past?

A: They did not exert that much pressure. At that time I do not think they realised the gravity of the situation which I believe they do realise now.

Q: You discussed with Mr Reagan the issue of aid to India in defence for purchase of the Light Combat Aircraft or its manufacture in India. You said more avenues are to be explored. Would you like to explain?

**Defence Items**

A: So far, we have taken only technology from the U.S. for defence. This time we have approached them for certain other items which are not available from any other source. They have not cleared the full list which we gave to them. Certain items they have said they have not given to any country, not even to their close allies. So these are out. There are other items we are talking about. Mostly, it is technology, and there is no real problem.

Q: In the defence sphere, is there a qualitative change in our relations with the Americans?

A: As I said in 1985 when I visited the U.S. specially in defence, it is a question of building confidence in each other. We have had a period when there was a lot of mistrust especially in defense supplies. So it will take some time before that confidence is built. During these two years, we have seen progress on that confidence-building exercise. This is just a continuation of what we had started. We completed everything we had targeted to do. Now we have got a new phase.

Q: The aid to Pakistan has been suspended. What is your impression—are they going to resume it?

A: That is still being debated. It is too soon for us to say anything and it has to go through Congress and then to the administration. Let us watch.

Q: What about your meeting with the members of Congress?

A: We had a very good meeting with Congressmen. We were able to convince them on every question they had raised.

Q: During your last visit to the U.S. you had talked about investment climate in India for U.S. industrialists. This time also you had similar talk with U.S. industrialists. Still, U.S. investment in India is very low, as compared to China?

A: We deliberately have a more cautious policy on foreign investment. Although we liberalised a lot we have not opened the floodgates. And that is a deliberate thing on our part.

Q: Could you enlighten us on your talks with American businessmen? What were the constraints mentioned by them?

A: We have to run a balance between building our own industry and allowing people to come in. It will not be to our benefit if we indiscriminately allow foreign investment. It will damage our established industry. Now we can't let our industry continue the way they are doing. They are holding the country to ransom in a sense. The country is paying more, getting worse quality...everything is negative, outdated equipment; so we have to give a thrust to our industries to modernise, to be more cost-efficient, to give us better goods. To do that we have to open them to a certain degree of competition. If we overdo this they do not have the strength, the resilience to survive—they will collapse. So we have to run a balance and slowly open them up. If we look far ahead into the future, we must have companies which will compete with any company in the world on equal terms. That is not so today. To come to that situation, we will have to make them efficient, make them more quality conscious and cost conscious. That is the basic attitude when we look at this matter of opening out the areas of production. Also, we see certain areas relevant to our security, whether it is military security or economic security. These areas we obviously do not want to be opened out.

Q: Is it going to be basic industry or consumer industry?

A: We are more interested in basic industry. In consumer industry we would like rather to have our own chaps, even if it causes a little problem because we do not see that as an area of critical importance—as an area where we can afford to have an out-flow of foreign exchange for consumer areas.

Q: On high technology areas how far have the assurances (received last time) been translated into action?

A: After my 1985 visit, 100 percent, in every area we have had success. Now we have laid out a new set of fields in which we will cooperate. We will have to send our scientist and scientific advisers to discuss and to finalise. We will try to do that as soon as possible.

Q: Could you clarify the new set of fields?

A: No not until we have had more talks. Perhaps in the next two or three months we will be able to express....

Q: Yesterday you said two Cray XMP 14 are more powerful than one Cray XMP 24 (reference to talks between India and the U.S. on the supply of supercomputer).

A: I did not say two Cray XMP14s are more powerful than one Cray XMP 24. I said it was more advantageous for us to have two (Cray XMP 14) rather than one (Cray XMP 24)—so that we can have one in the North, one in the South and if more scientists are involved, more work can be done. One will go to Bangalore, one to Delhi for Met. If we had one 24, it will be entirely for the Met. And the scientists in Bangalore would not have a supercomputer. It was a deliberate decision.

Q: Is that 'Nani-Dada' phase in Indo-U.S. relations over? (This was a reference to the Prime Minister's speech at a Delhi public meeting when he said, using a Hindi Idiom, that powers hostile to India will remember their grandmother out of fear).

A: We never mentioned the U.S. (with Nanis and Dadis).

Q: Was there any concrete decision in regard to the foreign hand behind the terrorist activities in India?

A: In the U.S. and Canada, they have begun to act firmly. In other countries, firm action has yet to be initiated. We have raised these issues with them and we hope that stern steps would be taken there too. It takes time.

Q: What was the attitude of Mrs. Thatcher (towards the activities of extremists, extradition treaty and the like)?

A: Mrs. Thatcher has a very strong antiterrorist attitude. Well, sometimes we feel, they could be even stronger in their action in the U.K.

Q: If Pakistan does not go ahead with nuclear weapons, it will be getting \$4.2 billion American aid?

### Undue Importance

A: It is unfortunate that the press in India gives undue importance to Pakistan. It is a small country on the side; all your concentration goes to it. You should not bother about it. I do not know why you are keen... Pakistan, Pakistan, Pakistan... Let it do what it likes. We do not bother about it. We will handle it when the times comes.

Q: Did you have discussions with President Reagan on our relationship with the Soviet Union? Did that figure in it?

A: Sometime we expect the press to use their own minds. Sometimes, not always.

Q: Could you tell us when?

A: Now, The question of our relationship with the Soviet Union—well not in the sense it has been raised. We talked generally about all our relationship. It did not come at the highest level but it came up in other discussions. Our position is well known, we are for improving relations with both the powers, the Soviet Union and the U.S. with the Soviet Union, we have a long history going back to over 30 years. With that 30-year background, of course, we are further ahead. With the U.S., we had ups and downs and our differences. But these two years have seen a very substantial improvement in our relations.

Q: What was the American reaction to Sri Lanka? And during your stay, did you have a chance to see M.G.R. and discuss the matter with him? What was his reaction?

A: The American reaction has been very positive. They have given us full support—to both India and Sri Lanka, President Jayewardene and to myself. I did meet M.G.R.. We talked about the situation. He has certain worries. I clarified these problems and he said we will talk again after he returns to India.

Q: Did China figure in your discussions with the President, especially the recent developments in Tibet and the Dalai Lama's activities?

Q: Very generally on the Tibet question. We did give them our understanding of how our relations with China have been progressing.

Q: In your White House speech, you mentioned that the (Afghan) refugees (in Pakistan) return with security, dignity and honour. Does that imply that they have lost their dignity and honour because of the Soviet presence in Afghanistan?

A: They are not in Afghanistan, so that question does not arise. The refugees are in Pakistan at the moment.

Q: But the fact is they are there, have they lost their dignity and honour because of the Soviet presence?

A: I do not see the linkage between what you are saying and what we have said. We have said that they must go back with dignity and honour. They had problems in Afghanistan, that was why they left. They felt insecure... Whatever it was. Now to go back, the conditions must be such that they go back with dignity and honour and are secure when they go back.

Q: You just aid Pakistan was a small problem and why do we, the press feel obsessed with it but, surely, our obsession was largely a reflection of the Indian Government's position. In the last two years, you mentioned Pakistan respect to Punjab, in respect of (many other things) as any Prime Minister should. Is this a change in your attitude towards Pakistan?

A: No. This is not a change. When specific issues arise at a particular point of time then you have to say. As in January this year when we had the build-up on the borders. You could not ignore Pakistan at that time. But as a matter of policy, I think we waste too much time, worrying about, thinking about, arguing about (Pakistan). We are not in the same category.

#### Sino-Indian relations

Q: About Sino-Indian relations?

A: We are expecting the talks in November to go well. For this first time, the talks have been broadened beyond bilateral and border issues, beyond just the border, to consultations on international issues. So this is a very positive indication. We are optimistic about the talks. That is not to say that we expect a solution to the border problem in one set of talks. But we feel that the direction that will come from the November talks will be very positive.

Q: You are more optimistic this time?

A: We are. We had a very good meeting between the Foreign Ministers in New York.

Q: President Reagan wants India and Pakistan to intensify the dialogue to create confidence. What measures have they suggested?

A: They have not suggested any specific measures. We explained our position which is basically that it is not just a simple question of looking at India and Pakistan. You must evaluate the whole region. You must evaluate the method and manner in which Pakistan has developed its (nuclear) programme. You cannot isolate the two. First, about the manner in which the Pakistani programme has come about—compare it with our programme. Our programme is totally peaceful, it is completely in the civilian sector, it is open to question in Pakistan. It is totally open, there is nothing hidden in what we are doing. Compare that to what is happening in regard to the Pakistan programme, it is entirely in the military sector, it has entirely been run by devious means, by pinching technology, by smuggling things. It is a totally devious programme. It is based right from the beginning on untruth and deception. How can you compare the two? You tell us to open our things to inspection. Our things are already open. They are visible, everybody knows where they are. Now how do we know, how they are doing, where they are doing, whether there are other clandestine... It is not the same thing. We cannot be equated. India has demonstrated a capability but much more important than that we have demonstrated the will not to use that capability. No other country in the world has demonstrated that will. Pakistan is demonstrating only a will to develop the weapon by hook or crook, by cheating or smuggling or whatever crooked means are possible. So the whole attitude of the two countries is different. We can't compare them.

Today nobody in the world accuses India of having clandestinely developed nuclear weapons technology. That is very clear. You cannot equate the two countries and say you get together and sort out something.

The other question is of the region. It is not only a question of India and Pakistan, China has a nuclear weapon. The Indian Ocean has still not been declared a nuclear weapons free zone or a zone of peace. Now until we look at the complete picture...and the next step we have to take it not to limit, specially no nuclear issues, to regions. A disaster effect will affect all of us. Globally we have to have a look at it. Now the INF is very good and we really hope it goes through, we commend the statesmanship of both President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev in coming so far. We hope they will be able to conclude (an agreement this year). We hope they will be able to have major advances on the START talks next year. But it is all a beginning. We are talking only of less than 5 percent nuclear weapons in the world. Even with INF although confidence-building starts, the actual, physical number of weapons is still so large that we can destroy ourselves a number of times over. The material difference is very little, although the psychological breakthrough is tremendous. We have then to see what Great Britain, China and France are going to do. They must also be brought into this discussion at sometime. At a further stage, we have to see what those countries capable of becoming nuclear are going to do, because we have to stop them. Now we have to look further on nuclear disarmament and see how that can be handled. We are trying to do it through the six-nation, five-continent initiative. Other people will also try. Let us see how things happen.

Q: Yesterday you said we will not make nuclear weapons unless constrained to do so. Does it mean we keep our nuclear options open?

### Best Option

A: It is no different from the policy I have enunciated earlier. I have always said categorically that we do not want to make the weapon but if circumstances becomes such that the survival of the nation is the question we really have to rethink the whole thing, and see what all needs to be done. Our best option is to see that a situation like that does not arise.

Q: Can we afford hot to have a bomb?

A: We have managed it so far, it has not affected our security.

Q: The Mizoram problem we resolved after 30 years. Will the Punjab problem too take 30 years?

A: In Assam, we took four or five years. On the Gorkhaland issue, it will take still less time.

Q: Yesterday in Delhi, there was another outbreak of violence in Delhi. How long will we face this situation?

A: It has been very sad, we must condemn it. The positive side is that one of the persons involved was shot—one of the main persons, one of the biggest terrorists. The reality is that such incidents can happen, but we must be sure that we do not allow them to get away with it.

Q: Do the arrest of the priests and others presage a change in policy?

A: We have told the Punjab Government to stamp out terrorism ruthlessly. It is for them to decide how they go about it.

Q: You met Vice-President Bush. Bush is said to be a liberal conservative, a pragmatist and a professional as far as South Asia is concerned, and he is a candidate for the presidency. What do you think of Mr. Bush as the next tenant in the White House?

A: It is much too early for me to comment on the next tenant in the White House. But we had a very good meeting with Vice-President Bush and we got along very well. We discussed a number of areas of mutual interest. He has had a lot of experience with China. We talked about China also and got his views and his experienced.

### Human Rights

Q: What progress you think was made at the Commonwealth conference? Then this question of human rights. According to Amnesty International, 33 Commonwealth countries are violating human rights, including Britain and India. Your comments?

A: We do not give much credibility to Amnesty International. We do not think they go to these things seriously. In the Commonwealth conference, we made progress in several areas. Fiji is no more in the Commonwealth now. On South Africa, there were several areas of progress. It is soon to evaluate the effect of sanctions, which started 10 or 11 months ago. Now we will start evaluating. We also have now set up a machinery to do that—to see the effect of sanctions: to monitor the sanctions, the quality of the sanctions, the quantity of the sanctions, to see that nobody is countering certain measures which some countries are taking. We also said we will help the Frontline States in building their own economies, their infrastructure, their security. We will look at the P R aspect—of projecting what is happening in South Africa, on how censorship is removed, on how the financing of South Africa is taking place. I have no doubt the Commonwealth will set up a small group to see how it can be done.

We made a lot of progress in regard to the distance learning exercise and Commonwealth University.

### Cabinet changes

Q: One last question which you often parry—when are you having the Cabinet changes? Before the next session of Parliament?

A: There was an editorial in one of the newspapers a few days before we left saying: 'What is this, we printed that the P.M. was going to have Cabinet changes and the P.M. has not had Cabinet changes?' so I leave it to you. There is no problem in the running of the Government. The economy is doing well. Every sector is doing well.

Q: Is it true this trip is costing Rs1 core a day?

A: I have no idea. But let me assure you that the benefits from the trip are well beyond its cost, many hundred fold perhaps.

/9738

### Trouble Seen Brewing on China Border

46240001 New Delhi DINMAN in Hindi 25 Sep 87 p 43

[Report by Ghanshyam Pardesi and Sudhanshu Bhushan: "The Dragon's Feet"]

[Text] Creeping along the Sumodorong Chu valley, the Chinese python has now reached Arunachal and its interior areas. According to recent reports from Twang District, Chinese soldiers have built 2 new posts in the border areas of Western Siang District, nearly 50 kilometers from Sumodorong Chu. These days, the posts are being equipped with supplies and arms. It is clear from the alacrity with which these posts have been set up that the Chinese soldiers want to strengthen their position there before October arrives.

But there is no flurry of activity in Delhi. The Army House is complacent. The South Block is quiet. This complacency is perhaps due to the belief that the Chinese soldiers are being watched by our forces and our army is fully capable of stopping the Chinese from intruding into Indian territory.

The imaginary McMahon Line separating India from China runs north of Tawang and Western Siang Districts and touches Bhutan in the west. The entire border area is covered by inaccessible mountains, and the mountain ranges sometimes fall into the Indian side and sometimes into the Chinese side. China does not even recognize the McMahon Line and demands that the border should be determined on the basis of geographic and cultural affinities. On this basis it has been laying claim to the entire Arunachal Pradesh. After the 1962 ceasefire China did not build posts on the south side of these mountains, but it accomplished this project last year.

India does not concede geographic and cultural affinities argument. That is why despite all the border talks, there is no agreement in sight. On the other hand, carefully and cleverly, China goes on building one army post after another.

As long as the relations between India and China were cordial, the question of border demarcation never arose. When the new Chinese leaders, following the victory of liberation army in 1949, took a look at their borders, they were shocked. The British had obtained the signatures of the weak rulers of Beijing on agreements of their own choosing. The revolutionaries did not like this. As a result, sovereign Tibet went under Chinese control in 1954.

The northern area of Tawang District adjoins Tibet's southeastern border. Until 1954 the Lhasa-Delhi relations were so cordial that there never was any controversy over the border question. On the border there are far flung villages inhabited by shepherds. Neither Delhi nor Lhasa had any say in these villages. Once in a while a government official would stumble on these villages and collect revenue. Otherwise, for all practical purposes, these villages were neither Indian nor Chinese.

But after the Chinese revolution, the situation changed. Many new international alliances emerged and many old ones broke up. Now both China and India began to scrutinize their borders. It was found that many villages across the McMahon Line were paying taxes to the Indian government and similarly several villages on this side of the Line were paying taxes to the Tibetan officials.

Despite this there was no significant change in the situation. The fact is that in NEFA [North East Frontier Areas], there were many places on this side of the McMahon Line where the British government writ did not run. It was only in 1951 that Indian administration reached Tawang. In the NEFA sector many northern villages were considered markers of Indo-Tibetan border. Therefore, following the Chinese occupation of Tibet, both countries tried to bring under their control as many villages as possible.

A senior army officer, on the condition that he remain anonymous, disclosed to us that until the Chinese intrusion into the Sumodorong Chu region, most of the border villages were under Indian control and in some places Indian soldiers had even set up border posts. This entire area is surrounded by inaccessible mountains. In many places these mountains form the border. During the 1962 war, Chinese forces took many such mountains and villages from the Indian forces and pushed the Indians far back.

After the Sumodorong Chu, recent intrusion began in May this year. Indian soldiers got wind of it but for some unknown reason they did nothing. The result is that four Indian border villages are now under Chinese control.

This kind of hide and seek is continuing along the entire Indo-Chinese border. There is tension on the border but both India and China deny it. Its main cause is the McMahon Line. In principle China agrees with it but the Chinese agreement needs to be translated into reality. For this an understanding will have to be reached on the basis of give and take. India and China both will have to display large heartedness.

In the meantime, Arunachal Pradesh has been accorded the status of a full-fledged state within the Indian union. China opposed the move although there was no validity to the Chinese objection. The fact is that Tibet has now become a part of China. Clearly the villages inhabited by people of Tibetan origin will remain a bone of contention between India and China. For example, in Tawang the people in majority are Monpa who in their life style and culture are closer to the Tibetans.

According to international law and conventions, there is no merit in the Chinese claim. But China has all along been saying that there is no proof that these areas are Indian, and that the 1914 Simla agreement (which is the basis for McMahon Line) is invalid since China never recognized it. Moreover, China claims that Tibet was never a free and sovereign country and its inclusion in the 1914 agreement was therefore completely wrong.

Because of its involvement in the dispute between India and China, Tibet will remain an important issue. Therefore both India and China will have to decide what the status of Tibet was according to international law prior to the 1914 Simla agreement.

Today the reality is that Tibet is a part of China and Arunachal is part of India. India and China both will have to concede that their border should remain where it was before independence. And this is in the interest of both. People of Arunachal do not want to part from India. In this situation, can a referendum solve the problem?

12286/09599

**Chinese Communist Goodwill Delegation Visits CPI**  
46001081 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
20 Oct 87 p 9

[Article by Anand K. Sahay]

[Text] New Delhi, October 19: Indications are that before the year is out the CPI and the Communist Party of China (CPC) will re-establish their party-to-party relationship, ruptured since the Indo-China border clash 25 years ago.

The two parties have not so far even formally met each other but informal contacts have occurred since 1985 when the CPC representatives came to participate in the Congress centenary celebrations. At its own initiative, the CPC delegation had called on the CPI leadership to exchange views.

Today, a goodwill delegation of the international department of the CPC, which is here at the invitation of the CPM called at the CPI headquarters to resume its informal dialogue aimed at reviving formal relations.

The discussions which lasted two hours "were held in a free, frank and friendly atmosphere," a CPI release said.

This time also the CPC representatives are understood to have met the CPI leadership at their own request. But in the intervening period, the CPI leaders have kept contact with the Chinese embassy. In 1985, before the Congress centenary, a member of the CPI national council, Mr Chaturanan Mishraa, visited Beijing representing AITUC at a trade union conference.

The mood, both in the CPI and CPC, is said to be that of letting bygones remain bygones. It is considered likely that either Indian communists will visit Beijing soon or invite the Chinese over. It is all expected to be formal this time, paving the way for formal ties.

The CPC and the CPM have always maintained party-to-party ties since the formation of the CPM in 1964, and in recent years the CPC has also established formal ties with the ruling Congress.

Obviously in a bid to get out of the isolation from the international communist movement, the CPC has mended fences with all communist parties of east Europe with whom relations had become strained since the Chinese and Soviet communists fell out in the late '50s and the early '60s.

Albania, Rumania and Yugoslavia had been the exceptions. Then Albania too fell out, but now the CPC leaders call on the communist parties of east Europe or invite them over. This exercise has gained impetus since the coming to power of Mr Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow.

The CPI, of course, has a whole range of differences with the CPC, especially with the latter's relationship with the U.S., but this is not likely to interfere in the re-establishment of ties. The world has changed since what happened 25 years ago, a well-placed communist source said. The Chinese too realize this, he added.

The 13th congress of the CPC is scheduled to commence on October 25. It is not known if the CPI will be invited as an observer.

What the new mood of the CPI and the CPC, vis-a-vis each other, means for the several Naxalite formations, which have always been pro-Chinese, is to be seen. Up till now the Naxalite groups have attacked the Soviets for their "social imperialist" policies, and the CPI for being "stooges" of the Soviets.

The team that called on the CPI included, Mr Chen Chuange, deputy bureau director of the international liaison department of the central committee of the CPC, and Ms Wang Fengying, deputy section chief. The CPI leaders included Mr M. Farooqi, member of the party secretariat and Mr N.K. Krishnan, member of the CPI central executive committee and head of the international department.

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**Trade, Industrial Pact With Hungary**  
46001087f Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
5 Oct 87 p 9

[Text] An agreement has been signed here between India and Hungarian widening trade and industrial cooperation in electronics.

Mr K.P. Nambiar, Secretary in the department of electronics and the Hungarian Deputy Industry Minister on Friday signed the pact which, while not specifying volume, is likely to boost exchange of electronic components to the worth of \$25 millions.

The two sides also agreed to set up offices in the countries to explore collaboration and trade possibilities.—PTI

/9738

**Pakistani 'Spy Network'**  
46001087d Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
5 Oct 87 p 3

[Text] Srinagar, October 4 (PTI): The police today claimed to have busted a Pakistani spy network with the arrest of five persons in the border districts of Poonch and Rajouri of the Jammu regions.

Official reports from Poonch said the arrests were made over the past few days following revelations by Mohammad Din, the alleged kingpin of the gang and suspected to be a member of the Pakistan's field intelligence unit, who was nabbed at the border village of Keerni, about six km from Poonch, on Wednesday.

He was intercepted by the police when he was trying to sneak into the Indian territory from the Pak-occupied Kashmir.

The police also arrested two Indian nationals, who were spying for Pakistan and were to provide shelter to Mohammad Din.

Some incriminating documents were recovered from the arrested Indian nationals identified as Abdul Khalil and Mohammad Sultan, both of the border village of Chamber-Kinari. The reports said they were arrested when they were about to flee to Pak-occupied Kashmir.

In a joint operation by the police and intelligence agencies near the line of control, two persons were arrested early last week. Documents containing vital information about Indian defence forces stationed in the area were recovered from their possession, the reports said.

/9738

### Reserve Bank Modifies, Tightens Credit Policy

#### Cash Reserve, Other Controls

46001079 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
18 Oct 87 p 1

[Article by TIMES financial editor]

[Text] The Reserve Bank of India has announced tightening of the credit policy. With a view to moderating the growth of liquidity in the banking system, the cash reserve ratio (CRR) of banks is being raised from 9.5 percent to 10 percent on net demand and time liabilities with effect from the fortnight beginning October 24. This will mean impounding of about Rs500 crores of bank funds.

Simultaneously, the selective credit controls have been tightened on oil-seeds and vegetable oil. Besides, cotton-seed and cottonseed oil, paddy/rice, cotton and kapas have been brought back under the purview of the selective credit controls. With effect from October 19, the minimum margins in respect of paddy/rice, pulses, and other foodgrains (excluding wheat) are being raised across the board by 15 percentage points.

In respect of export refinance, the base for providing 100 percent export finance at the average level of export credit in 1984 has been retained. According to the RBI, this concession of not changing the base would imply that export refinance limits will be higher by about RS430 crores than if the base had been brought forward to the average level of export credit in 1986.

Mr R.N. Malhotra, RBI governor, told the chief executives of major scheduled commercial banks in Bombay today that the main objective of the credit policy for the second half of 1987-88 would be to meet fully the credit requirements of agriculture, industry and exports, while preventing excessive monetary expansion.

During the first half of the current fiscal year (April-September) the growth of broad money (M3, which includes currency with the public and demand and time deposits of banks) was RS8,266 crores against Rs9,195 crores in the same period of the previous year.

According to the RBI, the growth in M3 in the current financial year so far is substantially understated because of large recourse of banks to portfolio management, which has greatly depressed demand deposits, without affecting the lendable resources of banks. The growth in time deposits during this period was Rs7,540 crores against Rs6,692 crores in the same period of 1986-87. The growth of reserve money in the first half of the current financial year has been much stronger at Rs3,601 crores against Rs505 crores.

The RBI feels that this has the potential for a large expansion of liquidity in the second half of 1987-88. It has assumed that aggregate deposits of scheduled commercial banks are expected to rise by about Rs18,500 crores (18 percent) during 1987-88. With the lower rabi 1987 procurement, the increased off-take of foodgrains and lower kharif procurement in 1987-88, food credit is expected to fall sharply by about Rs2,400 crores during the year.

The increase in non-food credit at Rs2,395 crores in the first half of the current year was more than twice the corresponding increase of Rs1,007 crores in the previous year. Still, the excess liquidity at the end of September 1987 was large and banks also have substantial unutilised refinance limit.

The governor emphasized the need to keep down the rate of monetary expansion in 1987-88 to a rate lower than that of last year. He told the bankers to ensure that bank credit is not utilised for speculative activities in sensitive commodities.

Mr Malhotra said that banks are normally not allowed to lend the money in the money market if they utilise refinance and default in the maintenance of reserve requirements. He cautioned them that they should ensure that these salutary stipulations are observed. In cases of "flagrant violations" of these stipulations, the continuation of refinance facilities to the bank would be reviewed, he added.

He mentioned that recently several banks had been undertaking large portfolio management operations in government and other approved securities, under which investors are offered buy-back arrangements in dated securities providing relatively higher yields on short-term investments. He pointed out that these operations distort the monetary and banking aggregates as has happened in the first half of the current financial year.

Mr Malhotra said if these operations continue to grow, some banks may find themselves in a "liquidity bind." Banks should, therefore, ensure that their exposure under such operations is moderated. The RBI proposes to monitor these operations on a regular basis.

#### Drought-Affected Changes

46001079 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
1 Oct 87 p 6

[Article by HINDU special correspondent]

[Text] The Reserve Bank of India (RBI) has modified some of the provisions of selective credit controls (SSC) as a sequel to the deterioration in the supply-demand balance for certain sensitive commodities and its impact on prices as part of measures to combat drought.

The level of credit ceilings in respect of bank advances against oilseeds and vegetable oils (including vanaspati) will be reduced from the present 100 percent to 85 percent of the peak level of credit maintained by a party in any of the three years (November-October) 1982-83, 1983-84 and 1984-85.

**Margins against grain stocks:** Bank advances against paddy/rice, which were hitherto exempt from the provisions of selective credit controls, will be brought under the purview of selective credit controls. Minimum margins on bank advances against the stock of paddy/rice will be 30 percent in the case of mills/processing units, 45 percent in the case of others and 30 percent against warehouse receipts. The level of credit ceiling on bank advances will be 100 percent of the peak level of credit maintained by a party in any of the three years (November-October), 1982-83, 1983-84 and 1984-85.

All stipulations and exemptions which were in force prior to the removal of selective credit controls on paddy/rice in April, 1986 will now be brought back into force.

Advances against cotton and kapas, which were completely exempt from the provisions of selective credit controls from April, 1986, will be brought back under the purview of such controls.

**Margin against stock:** While mills will continue to be exempt from selective credit control, minimum margins on bank advances against stock will be 45 percent for others and 30 percent in respect of bank advances against warehouse receipts. The level of credit ceiling on bank advances will be 100 percent of the peak level of credit maintained by a party in any of the three years (November-October) 1982-83, 1983-84 and 1984-85. These measures will apply to bank advances against all varieties of cotton and kapas. All other stipulations/exemptions which were in force prior to the removal of selective credit controls on cotton and kapas in April, 1986 will now be brought back into force.

**Guidelines for relief measures:** Detailed guidelines have also been issued for relief measures by banks in the areas affected by natural calamities like flood and drought. The first sowing by many farmers who have already availed themselves of short-term loans may have been adversely affected. In such cases, the farmers may wish to take up second

sowing or may be raising alternative short-duration crops. Necessary credit to such farmers who take up second sowing or raise alternative crops will be extended.

In areas where it is not possible to raise either regular crops or even alternative short duration kharif crops, the farmers may be raising fodder. Loans for fodder cultivation will be provided in such cases treating them as crop loans.

In cases where the first sowing for raising kharif 1987 crops has completely withered away, short-term loans for the purpose may be converted into medium-term loans. Assistance will be provided for production of seeds wherever requests are made for the purpose.

**Investment credit:** In respect of investment credit given by the banks, if the failure of crops necessitates rescheduling of such loans, it will be granted on the merits of each case.

Loans for minor irrigation purposes including those for percolation tanks, pumpsets and deepening of wells will also be expeditiously sanctioned.

Financial support for setting up fair price shops will be extended. Consumption loans to small and marginal farmers and other weaker sections will be allowed. The limit of consumption loans for general purposes which the banks can extend has been raised from RS250 to Rs500.

**RBI accommodation:** In case a bank faces temporary resources constraint in extending assistance to the affected persons it may approach the RBI for accommodation under the existing refinance facilities.

The National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD) has also initiated steps to help the affected farmers and facilitate the implementation of the contingency plans drawn up by the State Governments to combat drought. The NABARD will provide conversion of short-term loans into medium-term loans earlier provided by the banks to the farmers for raising the first crop in the affected areas. The NABARD will also increase the proportion of share in the conversion loans in cases where the State Governments are unable to meet their unexpected commitments. It has further assured that the granting of reliefs by way of conversions will not be delayed for want of settlement of insurance claims.

**Rescheduling loan installments:** In respect of term loans for investment purposes, the lending banks would provide the facility of rescheduling of loan installments falling due for repayments and the NABARD would extend corresponding facility to the banks. In addition, it will expeditiously provide assistance for loans for deepening of wells, percolation tanks, pumpsets, etc., wherever necessary.

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#### AITUC General Council Meeting Resolutions Reported

46001080 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
18 Oct 87 p 9

[Text] The general council meeting of the AITUC today "condemned" the decision of the Centre to train top-level administrative and managerial personnel in the U.S.

In a resolution adopted on the second day of the meeting here, the AITUC said the responsibility for the execution of the training programme, including the selection of trainees, would rest with the direct of Princeton University and Harvard University.

The implementation of the scheme would "inevitably expose the vital functioning of defence, intelligence and national economy to the influence and intervention of CIA and its network with disastrous consequences to the very security and integrity of the country".

Describing the decisions as "patently anti-patriotic and inimical," the council demanded its outright scrapping. In another resolution, the council criticised the use of the provisions of the Anti-Terrorist Act against the striking workers in Ahmedabad. It urged the Gujarat government and the Centre to desist from using this "draconian act" against the workers and the democratic movement.

It also extended support and cooperation to the call given by the meeting of mass organisations for a countrywide campaign on urgent issues including drought, flood relief and price rise.

The demonstration planned before Parliament on December 9 will be preceded by "mazdoor kisan jathas," which will traverse the entire country.

The AITUC feels that the former Union finance minister, Mr V.P. Singh is "tilting more and more towards the left".

"Mr V.P. Singh knows that if he joins hands with the BJP, he will isolate himself from other secular and democratic parties, besides the left, even in the Hindi belt," Mr Bardhan said.

The council, in its efforts to revive a single leftist union, ratified the proposal for forming a coordination committee with the Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU).

/9738

#### Silghat Selected To Be New Capital of Assam 46001078 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English 17 Oct 87 p 7

[Text] Guwahati, Oct 16 (PTI): Silghat, situated on the bank of the Brahmaputra in Nagaon district, was today selected as the new capital of Assam.

Tabling the report of a six-member team in the state Assembly, the chief minister, Mr Prafulla Kumar Mahanta, said Silghat was located in the very centre of the state.

The law minister, Mr Surendra Nath Medhi, however, expressed his dissatisfaction over the selection and wondered how the chief minister could announce the name of the new capital without prior approval of the Cabinet. Mr Hemen Das, CPI(M), supported the law minister and said the matter should have been discussed in the Cabinet.

Assam's capital was shifted from Shillong to Dispur in Guwahati in 1973, after Meghalaya attained statehood.

The report said the committee, after having examined the relative merits and demerits of three chosen sites—Chandrapur, Betkuchi and Silghat—was of the unanimous opinion that Silghat was the most suitable site for the state's capital.

Chandrapur was unsuitable due to non-availability of land, unfavourable topography and disadvantages arising out of its proximity to Guwahati.

The committee rejected Betkuchi primarily because of inadequate space and unplanned development.

The report said Silghat was selected because it has sufficient land and better road, rail and air communication facilities. In the committee's opinion its proximity to the Kazirange national park and the other tourist attractions of the Tezpur would be an added advantage.

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**Commentary Warns of Unrest in Assam**  
46000020 New Delhi INDIA TODAY in English  
15 Oct 87 p 49

[Article by Ramesh Menon in Jorhat and Kohima: "Border Dispute; On the Edge; Naga Settlers Cause Tension"]

[Text] At a border outpost of the Assam police in Sibsagar district, jawans maintain a vigil with light machine-guns and two-inch mortars. With incidents of encroachment and assault by Nagas in the border villages of Assam reaching an alarmingly high level, the age-old border dispute between the two states seems poised to erupt violently again. A recent red alert in these areas followed reports of Kohima's fresh plans to force non-Nagas to leave the Chungajan area in Assam's Jorhat district.

In the past, the border conflict occasioned terrible carnages. At Chungajan, on January 5, 1979, armed Nagas killed 55 Assamese and burnt 467 houses. Sporadic clashes carried on before exploding on June 4, 1985, at

Merapani in the Doyang reserve forest in Jorhat. That time, Nagas, accompanied by their state's armed police, left 40 Assamese dead and 90 injured. In all, 109 lives have been lost since 1979.

The apprehension that Assamese feel is natural. As P.V. Sumant, Assam's DIG, eastern range, says: "In the encroached areas, non-Nagas live in abject fear." The attacks have continued since 1968 despite inter-state meetings to resolve the dispute. Assam officials claim that 878 sq km of its land has been encroached upon by Nagaland and nearly 27,000 Nagas—in 150 villages—live in the disputed reserve forests of Jorhat and Sibsagar districts.

This time round, with the Nagas determined and the Centre indifferent to the issue, the Assamese feel powerless. Assam Chief Minister Prafulla Kumar Mahanta has strongly condemned Nagaland for its unwillingness to even discuss the encroachment issue. Two invitations for talks to Nagaland Chief Minister Hokishe Sema have been ignored. Adds Mahanta: "The Centre is showing no interest in settling the dispute. We've launched numerous protests but to no effect."

The Central Reserve Police Force, the Border Security Force (BSF) and Assam Rifles deputed in 1979 to police the area and prevent any further land grab have also proved useless. Even where they do have posts, large tracts of forest area have been put under shifting cultivation. A Naga house built just 20 ft away from a BSF post in Merapani makes a mockery of the neutral forces' presence.

In most newly-entrenched Naga villages, water supply schemes have come up. Sign boards identify Naga government offices, circuit houses and schools. And Naga politicians provide official patronage. Early this year, Education Minister Sikiho Sema inaugurated a village Niu Land ('our land'), which is technically in Jorhat district.

Two saw mills in Merapani have been granted licences by the Nagaland Government. A Nagaland range forest office has been set up in the area, contravening a 1979 agreement vesting the administration of reserve forests with Assam. Check gates also prevent the entry of Assamese forest officials. Dr Dhrubananda Das, commissioner of upper Assam, says: "Nagaland has repeatedly violated all the border agreements."

Nagaland's objections to Assam's claims on forest areas stem from the benchmark used to create the state in 1963. Then, the Union Government had followed a 1925 British notification identifying the plain areas with Assam and the hills with Nagaland. Initially Nagaland agreed to this, then later claimed seven border reserve forests.

Explains Hokishe Sema: "These forests were originally Naga forests. The British kept them out of the erstwhile Naga hill district for administrative reasons. We did not object then as Nagaland was a part of Assam. Now, as it is a separate state, Nagas want their forests back." A Central committee set up in 1971, which upheld the existing boundaries, was also rejected by Nagaland, which today claims four reserve forest areas.

The Assam Government fears that the provision of facilities like schools, electricity and water by Nagaland, in the encroached areas, many also attract the Assamese who live there. Officials in Guwahati complain that the lack of funds has hampered their development efforts.

So tenuous is Assamese hold in the disputed lands that the state was unable to conduct assembly elections here last time. And with elections to Nagaland round the corner, the Assamese feel that the Nagas will violate an Election Commission directive forbidding it to conduct polling in these areas.

But an even greater danger comes from the Naga intention to post two companies of armed police in the area. If this plan is executed, it could bring the two combatants closer to the precipice.

/09599

**Awami National Conference**  
46001087c Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
25 Sep 87 p 14

[Text] Srinagar, September 24: The former chief minister, Mr G.M. Shah, yesterday formally signaled his re-entry into politics after a brief stint of retirement by addressing party workers and unfurling the new flag of the Awami National Conference.

In his speech to the workers, Mr Shah defended his Iqbal ground speech and his subsequent resignation as the party president as also his decision to quit politics. He also justified his re-entry into politics.

Mr Shah urged the workers to either adopt the path of confrontation with their political opponents or to secure power through defections.

The Awami Conference's new flag is green with three white stripes down the side, representing the three regions of the state, and a sun emblazoned in the middle. The green is a concession to the Muslim United Front of which the party is a constituent.

/9738

**New Navy Chief**  
46001087e Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
11 Oct 87 p 1

[Text] Vice Admiral Jayant Ganpat Nadkarni will take over as the next Chief of Naval Staff from Admiral R.H. Tahilani on December 1. He is at present the Navy's Vice-Chief.

Born on December 5, 1931 Vice Admiral Nadkarni joined the royal Indian Navy in March 1949. He received his initial training at the royal Naval College, Dartmouth, U.K., the training cruiser HMS Devonshire and later specialised in navigation and direction.

Vice Admiral Nadkarni has held several operational, training and staff appointments, both afloat and ashore. He has commanded INS Talwar, the cruiser Delhi and finally the Western Fleet.

His important appointments ashore include Chief Instructor (Navy) in the Defence Service Staff College, Wellington, Chief of Staff of the Western Naval Command, Bombay, Senior Directing Staff (Navy) at the National Defence College, New Delhi and Chief of Personnel at Naval Headquarters. Prior to his appointment as the Vice Chief of Naval Staff, he was the Flag Officer Commanding-in-chief, Eastern Naval Command, Visakhapatnam.

A graduate of the Defence Services Staff College, Wellington and Naval War College in the U.S., Vice Admiral Nadkarni is a recipient of the Param Vishist Seva Medal, Ati Vishist Seva Medal, Nau Sena Medal and the Vishist Seva Medal for rendering distinguished service of an exceptionally high order.

/9738

**Air Force Maintenance Training**  
46001087g New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English  
29 Sep 87 p 5

[Article by Cecil Victor: "New IAF Maintenance Doctrine"]

[Excerpts] To enable the men who keep the machines flying to be in pace with the latest high-technology equipment a new institution, No 1 Technical Type Training (TETTRA) School, was formally inaugurated by Air Chief Marshal Denis La Fontaine in Chandigarh on Monday.

The first of seven mission-specific institutions, No 1 TETTRA School will train those responsible for the maintenance and repair of three Soviet-built swing-wing aircraft—MiG-27 (Bahadur); MiG-23 (Rakshak); and MiG-23 (BM) Vijay—to ensure a high quality of operational readiness of the fleet.

While the first and third are bombers the second is an air superiority fighter. They share much commonality in the R-29 Tumansky engine, the swing-wing technology and fuselage, and avionics. Hence it was thought fit to club them together in the new maintenance doctrine that is being progressively introduced in the IAF.

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## IRAN

### Forced Mass Prayers Cancelled

46400183c Stockholm NAMEH-YE MARDOM in Persian 21 Jul 87 p 6

[Text] Through collective and united struggle, workers in Iran Wood Industries of Tehran have been able to eliminate mandatory participation at Friday prayers, to obtain the right to profits from their production, and to persuade management to pay for their lunch hour. Iran Wood Industries has more than 1,000 employees, and is under the mantle of the Bank of Industry and Mines. Because of the constant employee protests, the manager of this factory has been changed several times. The factory's last manager was named Kamangar. He was dismissed and a new manager from the Hezbollah contingent replaced him. In order to intimidate the workers, on his first day the new manager pressured the factory's "Islamic council" to persuade the workers to participate in the Friday prayer service (between 40 and 50 people take part in the service). The management likewise announced that production incentives and lunch hour wages would not be paid (it is noteworthy that this factory has doubled its production by lengthening the work day and putting great pressure on the workers). The workers at this unit, who were highly angered by the new decisions, made public their anger and their protest. The management asked the gendarmerie to help in order to frighten the workers, and the gendarmes surrounded the factory. When confronted with this, the workers announced that they would strike and stop production if management did not reverse its decisions. The workers' reaction persuaded management to accept their demands and the gendarmerie to abandon its seige of the factory.

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### Political Prisoners Renew Hunger Strike

464000183b Stockholm NAMEH-YE MARDOM in Persian 21 Jul 87 p 1

[Text] News has arrived from Tehran that political prisoners have renewed their hunger strikes to protest extremely bad and difficult prison conditions as of Saturday 24 Tir [15 July]. The decisive majority of Iran's prisoners have been thrown into the regime of the Islamic republic's dungeons solely because of their advocacy of freedom, social justice and other ideas. As we seek to obtain more recent news, we ask all friends and

progressive forces to use all their power to organize national and international solidarity with political prisoners engaged in hunger strikes.

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### Gowhar Dasht Prison Conditions Deteriorating

46400183a Stockholm NAMEH-YE MARDOM in Persian 28 Jul 87 pp 1,7

[Text] Gowhar Dasht Prison has witnessed a bloody show of solidarity by imprisoned revolutionary forces against a regime which has trampled humanitarian principles and taken the suppression of freedom and oppression beyond the limit.

As we reported in the previous issue of NAME-YE MARDOM, the political prisoners at Gowhar Dasht conducted a hunger strike protesting the prison's inhumane conditions. In the same way the third strike by political prisoners is being conducted by political prisoners affiliated with progressive political forces.

Leading up to the latest strike is a wave of torture and many harsh disciplinary measures and rights violations which are being levied against political prisoners in various ways. Political prisoners are given short rations that are not in any way sufficient. They are constantly hungry. Access to the shower is quite difficult, and in some cells it is not easy to go to the toilet. Various illnesses threaten the prisoners, and they are in the worst possible circumstances in terms of health care and hygiene. In addition, the trustees, who are themselves the victims of the regime's oppression, have been ordered to pressure and torment the revolutionary forces in the cell. This time, the regime's henchmen in Gowhar Dasht Prison took a minor incident of arson and made it a pretext to create a more stifling atmosphere in the prison by collecting all the cooking implements belonging to the political prisoners and beating and torturing them. The political prisoners, who daily witness injustices and abuses of their most basic human rights, resisted the prison's agents and organized a strike. They demanded the establishment of hygienic conditions, health care, food, and the removal of trustees from the cells.

According to reports received, the hunger strike by political prisoners at Gowhar Dasht inspired a show of solidarity inside and outside the country. The Islamic Republic regime, which does not adhere to the principles of human rights and the recognition of prisoner rights, struggles wildly to prevent the publication of news concerning domestic prisoner resistance, and on the other hand it tries to force political prisoners to back down by applying more pressure and torture. This trend has gradually reached the crisis point, and it now threatens the lives of another group of combatants in our country's revolutionary movement.

To achieve solidarity with political prisoners and to confront a government which has completely trampled democratic rights and freedoms, the international and domestic battle must be expanded, with the participation of all progressive and revolutionary forces. The common fight by political prisoners has frightened the regime. If progressive and revolutionary forces can act together to fight for the freedom of political prisoners, the regime's fear will increase and it will undoubtedly reduce its pressure on prisoners. For its part, our party is making efforts to this end, and it calls upon all its members and supporters inside and outside the country

to join more persistently than ever with other forces in the battle to rescue political prisoners.

We likewise call upon the families of the nation's political prisoners to wage a united and organized fight to free their dear ones. Our party has supported this fight with all its power, and will continue to do so.

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**END**

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